

T H E
M E M O I R S
O F A
P R O T E S T A N T,
Condemned to the GALLEYS of FRANCE,
For His RELIGION.
Written by H I M S E L F.

Comprehending an Account of the various Distresses he suffered in Slavery; and his Constancy in supporting almost every Cruelty that bigotted Zeal could inflict or Human Nature sustain; also a Description of the Gallies, and the Service in which they are employed.

The Whole interspersed with Anecdotes relative to the General History of the Times, for a Period of Thirteen Years; during which the Author continued in Slavery, 'till he was at last set free, at the Intercession of the Court of *Great Britain*.

V O L. II.

Translated from the Original, just published at the *Hague*,
By JAMES WILLINGTON.

L O N D O N:

Printed for R. GRIFFITHS, at the *Dunciad*, in *Paternoster-row*; and E. DILLY, at the *Rose and Crown*, in the *Poultry*.

M.DCC.LVIII.

M E M O I R S

PROTESTANT
 Condemned to the Gallies of France
 For His RELIGION
 Written by HENRI R.

Comprehending an Account of the various Difficulties
 he laboured in Slavery; and his Conduct in the
 pointing almost every Country that required Aid
 could inflict or Human Nature forbids the De-
 scription of the Cruelties and the Service in which
 they are employed.

The Whole translated
 the General in the
 Thirteen Years
 turned in Slavery
 Instructions of
 Great Britain.



Translated from the Original, published in the
 BY JAMES WALLINGTON

Printed for R. GRIFFITHS, at the Diamond in the
 Pall Mall; and E. HULLY, at the Royal Exchange
 the Fourth
 MDCCLXXII

MEMOIRS
OF A
PROTESTANT.



THE Missionaries of *Marseilles*, who took every Opportunity of persecuting us with all the unguided Rage of Zeal, being informed that there were Remittances occasionally sent to comfort and assist us in Captivity, were resolved, if possible to prevent such Proceedings for the future. They were well convinced that there was no Argument so powerful as Distress, to shake the Faith of the Reformed, and that every Avenue to Relief must be precluded, before they could expect any Success in their Attempts for our Conversion. In pursuance of these Resolutions they obtained an

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Order from Court to the Intendants of *Marfeilles* and *Dunkirk*, to have a strict Eye over the *Huguenot* Slaves, to take care that they received no Remittances from their Friends, and if such Practices were detected, to punish the Delinquents with the utmost Rigour. All who know the Spirit of a Missioner, will readily conceive what care they took in having these Orders punctually obeyed. Their greatest Attention was to discover the Merchants or Bankers who negociated these Remittances. But by the favour of Providence they could never succeed in this Enquiry at *Dunkirk*; for tho' we frequently received such Supports under Bondage, yet our Affairs were transacted with such Secrecy, that it was impossible to detect us. We were, however, not a little obliged to the *Turkish* Slaves, for their Fidelity and disinterested Services on these Occasions. To give an Instance of this Fidelity, in the poor Slave *Iffouf*, who was killed in the Battle against the *English* Frigate: I was in his Time chained to my Seat, by an express Order from the Missionaries, without a possibility of going into the City, as the rest of the
Slaves

Slaves were permitted to do. Mr. P. my Banker, after the Orders from Court had been renewed, would no longer supply me by sending his Clerk with the Remittance as usual; but *Iseuf* undertook this dangerous Employment, and for several Years received the Benefactions, refusing the least Reward for his Trouble, and adding that it was not me, but God he served on those Occasions. After his Death I knew not what *Turk* to address myself to; but it was not long before ten or twelve offered me their Services. It seems *Iseuf* used to confess all his Actions to certain *Mahometan* Doctors, called *Pappas*, all whose Learning consisted in being able to read the Alcoran. Tho' I had besought him to reveal the Secret to no Creature living, yet his Religion persuaded him to confess it to some of these, who were Slaves aboard. Those good Men, (so let me call them, those Followers of *Mahomet*) came one after the other, offering to serve me, and testifying the greatest Piety and Goodness of Heart. They generally called us Protestants, their *Brothers in God*; and testified the utmost Regard to our Opinions. I chose from

among the Number who offered, one whose Name was *Aly*, and he accepted the dangerous Employment with joy, discharging the Trust I had reposed in him, faithfully and zealously for four Years. As *Aly* was extremely poor, I frequently pressed him to accept of a Trifle for his kind Offices; but he constantly refused, alledging in his Eastern Manner, that such Money would in his Hands turn to Fire. And when I pretended displeasure at his Refusal, promising to have recourse to another, he would implore me with lifted Hands not to shut upon him the Gates of Heaven. Yet those are they whom Christians call Barbarous! Would to God that Christians would but imitate their Integrity and Virtue; the Wicked can never with Justice be called truly polite, nor the Virtuous reproached with Barbarity. We are notwithstanding to make a Distinction between Persons of the same Religion, who come from different Parts of the World, and who consequently differ in their Manners and Customs. Those from *Morocco*, *Tripoli* and *Algiers*, are generally the greatest Villains alive; thievish, cruel, false, assassins, and
wicked

wicked to the last Degree. But the *Turks* of *Asia* and *Europe* seem of a different Species. Those come from *Bosnia* and the Frontiers of *Hungary*, from *Transilvania* and *Constantinople*, and are in great Numbers aboard the *French* Gallies. They are generally made Slaves by the Imperialists, who sell them in *Italy*; where they are bought by the *French*, to man the Gallies. These last I say are generally well made, fair and beautiful, grave in their Deportment, zealous in the Observation of their Religion, tenacious of the Truth, and charitable in a supreme Degree. This last Virtue they even carry to Excess. I have seen them give all they were possessed of, to purchase the Freedom of a Bird in a Cage. When at Meals, those who pass by, whether *Turks* or *Christians*, Friends or Enemies, if they do not taste their Victuals, incur their Displeasure, and nothing but Compliance can wipe off the Affront. They never drink spirituous Liquors, and consequently are never drunk. But the *Mahometans* of *Africa*, commonly called *Moors*, get drunk as often as they have an Opportunity, and commit the most

6 MEMOIRS of

horrid Excesses of every Kind. This Dissonance of Manners, between People professing the same Religion, prevents the least Intercourse between them, or the smallest Affection for each other.

BUT to return from this Digression, for which I hope the Reader's Pardon; I continued a long Time Receiver for my Brother Sufferers, without the least Interruption; first assisted by *Isouf*, and after his Death by *Aly*; but a Protestant Slave at *Marseilles*, who was entrusted with the like Employment for our Brethren in that Harbour, had not the same Success.

THE Missionaries in *Marseilles* came frequently on board the Gallies in that Harbour, in order to search the Protestant Slaves, and took from them their Money, Letters, and Books of Devotion, which they were so frugal as never to return. To prevent the Slaves from being apprized of their coming, and consequently from being prepared for their Reception by hiding their Effects, they took all possible Precautions to conceal the intended Time of Visitation. They also gave the Petty Officers private Instructions, that, at a Signal given by firing a Cannon,

Cannon, they should each single out his particular Slave, and search him narrowly. These Instructions were punctually and frequently executed, not without exercising the Lash, which most commonly precedes and follows every Occurrence of this Nature. We had been surprized at *Dunkirk* frequently in the same Manner: But when *Bancilbon*, the old Protestant Slave, was made a Favourite of the Captain, we were generally apprized by him of the intended Visitation, and prepared ourselves accordingly.

One of our Brethren, of *Marseilles*, whose Name was *Sabbatier*, was, like me, entrusted with the Office of Receiver. He had received a Sum to be distributed among all the Gallies; and as he and his faithful *Turk* were obliged to hold frequent Consultations about the Distribution, the Keeper began to entertain some Suspicions. He apprized the Major of the Gallies, who took his Measures accordingly; and the *Turk* was one Day seized going out of the Galle, and there was found on him a Sum of Money, with a List of the Names of those Persons, for whose Use it was intended. He was examined

concerning the Manner in which he came by this Money, but resolutely refused to inform. There was, however, no Necessity for his Evidence, for his Intercourse with *Sabatier* rendered the latter sufficiently suspected; who also, upon Examination, candidly confessed that it was he who had entrusted the *Turk* with the Money.

THE Intendant, who was informed of this Discovery, was in Raptures to think that the Merchant who supplied them would now be detected. But as he was confined by the Gout, it was not in his Power to examine *Sabatier* aboard; therefore the Delinquent was ordered to be chained to a *Turk*, and conducted by a Centinel into his Presence. When *Sabatier* appeared, the Intendant addressed him in the mildest Manner, saying, that as he made Profession of the Truth, he hoped he would say nothing but what was true. *Sabatier* replied, that he was ready to discover all that concerned himself, and called Heaven to witness to the Truth of what he should say. Right, returned the Intendant; only confess the Truth, and depend upon my Indulgence and Protection.

FIRST

FIRST then, says the Intendant, from whom had the *Turk* this Money? From me, Sir, replied *Sabatier*. To whom sent? To my Brothers in Bonds and in the Gospel. For what Purpose designed? To relieve their Distress, and soften the Rigours of Servitude. From whence came this Money? continues the Intendant. From *Geneva*, my Lord, replied the Prisoner. Do you receive such Contributions frequently? Frequently. Who remits them? A Banker of *Geneva* to a Correspondent at *Marseilles*. Well, and what is this Correspondent's Name? Here, my Lord, replied *Sabatier* resolutely, I must be silent. What concerns myself you know; if I have been criminal, I am prepared for Punishment. No Calamity from Man can afflict me so much as to be the treacherous Betrayer of him, whose only Fault was an Endeavour to do me Service: Yes, let me repeat it, no Torments shall compel me to betray my Benefactor. Slave! replied the Intendant, wilt thou thus obstinately run upon Destruction? I'll wring the Secret from thee, if Tortures can do it. Prepare then your Torments, replied *Sabatier*, and see what

they can do. The Intendant, foaming with Rage, at so much deliberate Obstinacy, commanded the Guard who stood by, to beat him in his Presence. The Guard, who had an Affection for the Prisoner, with whom he had been several Years acquainted, touched with Pity, entreated the Intendant to excuse him. Rascal! replied the Tyrant, give me the Stick; and taking it in his Hand, ordered *Sabatier* to be brought nearer his Easy Chair; which, when done, with the most inhuman Barbarity he laid on the unresisting Slave, who neither groaned nor changed his Attitude; till he Intendant, no longer able, through Fatigue, to continue the Punishment himself, ordered him to be bastinadoed at the Galley, till he should be induced to confess.

SABATIER underwent this repeated Torture with the most unshaken Fortitude; and, while able to speak, ceased not to call upon Heaven for Assistance. When he fainted under the Lash, they still continued beating this miserable and seemingly lifeless Carcase, till the Surgeon of the Gallies, who was present, gave Directions to desist,

desist, alledging that he would infallibly expire, if the Executioner persisted; and consequently it would be impossible to come at the Secret; whereas, the same Punishment might be again inflicted, at a Time when the Criminal might be better able to bear it, and more disposed to confess. The Major acquiesced, and the mangled Body was rubbed with Salt and Vinegar; which, with its excessive Smart, again gave him Life to feel his Misery.

He was now conducted to the Hospital, in order to give him Strength for another Trial; but he continued so long in a State seemingly between Life and Death, that his intended Punishment was remitted, either because his Conduct was at last forgotten, or his Treatment was thought already too severe. He at length recovered, but was ever after so feeble, and his Intellects so much impaired, that he remained an Object of the utmost Pity. I have seen him in *Holland*, where he died, several Years since, but he was then incapable of the least Conversation; and with a Voice so feeble, that he could scarce be heard. Yet by all this, the Missionaries thought they gained Heaven!

I CONTINUED my secret Employment, thank Heaven, with better Success. *Aly*, my faithful *Turk*, went at the Times I expected a Remittance (for the *Turks* go every where without a Guard) to Mr. *P.* my Banker, who gave him the Money, and accepted my Receipt, and Letters to *Holland*. Mr. *P.* had at last, however, the Misfortune to fail; and we were obliged to have Recourse to another Banker, called Mr. *P****, who, for two or three Years, discharged his Commission with Punctuality and Secrecy. Beside, we had on board an Almoner, who took not those mean Methods of bringing Hereticks to Reason, that his Brother Almoners were usually accustomed to. But as this Term of Almoner may not be understood by the generality of Readers, permit me to give an Explanation of it.

THOSE Almoners are Secular Priests, of the Society, as they call themselves, of the *Mission of St. Lazarus*. As the Heads of this Society had the Art of conciliating the King's Confidence, by a certain Air of Simplicity and Disinterestedness, their Power was greatly dreaded at *Marseilles*.

THIS

THIS Order was founded by *Vincent de Paul*; who, from an obscure Priest, became, by his Reputation for Piety, Confessor to the Queen-Mother. He afterwards had the Appointment of Missions into the Country for the Instruction of the Peasants, and the Vulgar in general.

THIS gave Rise to the Establishment of a Society, which, poor and feeble at first, had the Art, in Time, of establishing itself in the first Cities of *France*, and of acquiring several Privileges, Prerogatives, and Benefices. Among others, they got the Nomination of the Curates in all the little Towns, and of being Almoners or Chaplains to his Majesty's Troops, Fleets, and Gallies. In short, these good Fathers knew so well how to insinuate themselves at Court, that the Ministers applied to them as Oracles, and the Jesuits regarded them as potent Rivals.

THE Politics of the latter, in this Affair, were too refined; they gave this growing Society all the Countenance in their Power, imagining that by this they only encreased the Number of their own Partizans; but the *Lazarists* had the Jesuits themselves as Models before
their

their Eyes, and were therefore, like them, resolved to depart from the more simple Institutions of their Founder. They now adopted jesuitical Maxims, and caught all their Desire of Power. Among Ecclesiastics, Ambition is an Epidemical Disease, which only preys inwardly. Thus the *Lazaris* fed this growing Passion in their Hearts, while their external Deportment bespoke the most profound Humility. Such was their Address, that their Benefactors took a Pride in obliging Men, who seemed to accept of every Favour, not to enrich themselves, but aggrandize the Donor. They saw how well the humble Deportment, and the mortified Air, had profited the Jesuits; they knew that all are desirous of assisting Merit, before it arrives at an envied Greatness; and were accordingly resolved to have the Appearance of Merit, but not of Happiness. Their Habit was of coarse Stuff; they let a Part of their Beards grow, and studied a despicable Appearance, as much as the rest of Mankind endeavour to avoid it. They had Flattery for the Court, and Sanctity for the Country, and both accordingly were Dupes to their Ambition. They were Chaplains

in all the King's Churches, were Conductors of several Seminaries, and were possessed of immense Riches, which they had the secret Satisfaction of enjoying: So true it is, that we often encompass our Designs best, by seeming to disregard them. The Officers of the Gallies were Slaves to those Usurpers; if any had the Hardiness to disoblige or affront those Ambassadors from Christ, for such they pretended to be.—Perhaps the Reader will say, like Christians, they put up with the Affront.—No, they only got the Officer displaced, and perhaps obliged a brave Man to starve or turn Beggar.

THOSE Fathers then, as I have said, appointed the Almoners aboard our Galley; Men bigotted like their Constituents, and equally Persecutors of the Reformed. The Almoner who was consigned to our Galley before it left the *Mediterranean*, happened to die; and as Mr. *Langeron* thought it would be too long to wait for the Nomination of another, he chose a Dominican Friar of *Rochfort* to serve in the Place of the Deceased. This Almoner was at first severe, but his Prejudices wearing off by longer Acquaintance, he at last

last turned his Treatment into the most extreme Complaisance and good Nature. The last three Years which we continued idle at *Dunkirk*, he seldom let a Day pass in which he did not visit us, from no other Motive but Friendship. His Company, if not edifying, was at least amusing. He was a Man of Learning, and a good Preacher. I received from my Friends in *Holland* many Books of polemical Divinity, particularly several Volumes of *Saurin's* Sermons, one of which he once requested I would lend him. Though the Request seemed suspicious I complied, and he was very well pleased with the Writer's Manner. In short, I lent him all my Books one after the other, particularly the Works of Mr. *Jurieu*, which with the rest he punctually returned. Our Intimacy proceeded so far, that he one Day asked if I did not receive Remittances from my Friends in *Holland*? Which I thought proper to deny. However, I might have used less Precaution with him, as his Friendship was really sincere.

Mr. P*** the Banker, who had for four Years past transacted our Affairs, soon gave an Opportunity

tunity of putting this good Almoner's Sincerity to the Trial. He had received an Order from *Amsterdam* to pay me an hundred Crowns. He was, it seems, embarrassed in his own Circumstances, and unable to pay the Draught, but yet he was willing to support his Credit at *Amsterdam*. Thus circumstanced, he thought the only Way to disengage himself would be to ruin me, by which Means he might have a plausible Pretext of deferring Payment. He accordingly applies to our Almoner, informing him that he had received a Remittance of an hundred Crowns to be paid me; but as his Majesty had given strict Orders to the contrary, he was too well apprized of the Consequences of Disobedience not to take Advice; and he therefore begged the Almoner's Permission before he paid the Money. He imagined that the Priest, instead of giving him Permission, would strictly forbid Payment. Thus he expected to come off safe himself, and let the Storm light upon me in a furious bastinading. The Almoner understood at once his Meaning, and looking steadily upon him; Are you sure, Sir, said he, that you have never before supplied this Slave with Money without

without asking my Permission? Would you have me think your Correspondents in *Holland* are so rash, as to charge you with this Commission without knowing by Experience, that you would endeavour properly to acquit yourself of it? Be it as it will, as there is nothing wanting but my Permission, I give it most willingly. This unexpected Reply quite disconcerted the treacherous Banker; he seemed therefore not content with the Almoner's Leave, but said he would also go to the Intendant for his. The Almoner was disconcerted in his Turn; but recovering himself, answered with a severe Air; What, Sir, after saying that my Permission would be satisfactory, will you go to the Intendant? Go then, but be well assured that my Arm is sufficiently long to reach you; and that I have Interest enough to undo you whenever I please. P*** was at last obliged to confess the Truth; adding, that though an hundred Crowns were more than he could at present supply, yet if I should delay giving Advice for a Fortnight to my Friends in *Holland*, he would discharge the Sum at the Expiration of that Term. The Almoner pardoned his former Assurance,

surance, on thus finding him in a Manner compelled to it by Necessity. However, to prevent any sinister Designs, he took his Note payable in a Fortnight for the Money, and undertook to pay me the Contents himself. All this passed without my Knowledge; but the same Day this good Man pays me a Visit, and accosting me with a serious Air; I am surprized, says he, that a Man who makes Profession of the Truth, should tell a Person of my Character a Lie. I was somewhat surprized at his Manner of Address, and professed my Ignorance of his Meaning. Have you not assured me, says he, that you never received Remittances from *Holland*? Behold here, to convict your Falsehood, and at the same Time shewed the Note payable to the Bearer, given him by P*** Do you know this Hand, added he? I see nothing here Sir, replied I, but Effects belonging to you. This Money is yours, returned he; letting me know the Circumstances of P*** Falsehood. Here, take it, but let nothing persuade you to tell a lie for the future. I endeavoured to excuse myself as well as I could, by alledging that he, not I was most culpable, as he demanded
what

what was not in my Power to answer. He was at last satisfied, and assured me that he would take Care to have the Money paid me at the appointed Time; adding, that the Remittances from *Holland* might be for the future addressed to him, which would be a Means of having them punctually paid, and at the same Time I should run no Risque. I thanked him for his kind Intentions, but civilly refused his Offer, which, however, no Way diminished his Friendship.

THERE were five reformed Galley-slaves aboard, who equally with me partook of this good Father's Esteem and good Offices. He was unlike the rest of his Brethren, who used Punishment for Entreaty, and Stripes for Argument. He offered his Opinions with Candour, and enforced them with Energy. This Indulgence at last drew upon him the Hatred of the rest, who accused him to the Bishop of *Ypres* of Heresy, of loving and countenancing Heretics, and of confirming them in, instead of drawing them from their Errors. He was cited before the Bishop, to answer this Accusation. In Consequence of this Order he went to *Ypres*, and presented himself before his Lordship,

Lordship, who repeated to him the Heads of his Accusation. My Lord, replied the Almoner; if your Lordship has commissioned me to entreat, exhort, and endeavour to prevail upon the Heretics committed to my Care; 'tis what I every Day perform. But if your Commands also enjoin my afflicting and persecuting Men already wretched, for not thinking, as I do, send me back to my Convent; I must disobey. His Accusation terminated to his Honour; the Bishop approved his Conduct, and the Almoners, who had pursued contrary Maxims, were severely censured.

I NOW come to the End of my Residence at *Dunkirk*, which my fellow Protestants were soon to be obliged to leave. I now enter upon the Description of a new Species of Fatigues and Torments which we underwent upon our leaving, or to speak more properly, our being stolen from *Dunkirk*, and which continued from the first of *October* 1712, to the 17th of *January* 1713.

IT is an Occurrence well known, that Queen *Anne* in this Year made a particular Treaty of Peace with *France*; and that, among other Articles,

cles, it was stipulated that the *English* should take Possession of the City, Fortifications, and Port of *Dunkirk*, which were to be demolished. In Consequence of this, the *English* came to *Dunkirk* in the Month of *September*, with between three and four thousand Men, and took Possession of the City, Forts, and Citadel, which the *French* Garrison had evacuated. It has been already said that the Marine of *France* had been so ruined, that they were unable to arm the Gallies, and send them away by Sea from an Harbour now no longer theirs. Therefore it was agreed between the Court of *France* and *England*, that the Gallies and the Crew should remain in Port till it should be begun to be demolished, which could not be effected till after Winter. It was also agreed that no Vessel whatsoever should leave the Port without Permission from her *Britannic* Majesty. The *English* had no sooner taken Possession of the Town, and established a Garrison in the Citadel, then they came in Crowds to see the Gallies, and satisfy their Curiosity with a Sight which few of them had ever seen before.

AMONG

AMONG other Officers many *French* Refugees came, upon being informed that there were several Slaves on board who were condemned for Religion; and upon Enquiry, found the Number of the unhappy Sufferers to amount to twenty-two. Those Gentlemen testified a true Zeal for Religion on this Occasion; they embraced us with Tenderness, wept over us; nor could they refrain giving Marks of their Indignation and Pity, upon observing our Chains and the other Miseries attendant upon Slavery.

THEY generally staid a great Part of the Day with us, neither regarding the Vermin nor the ill Smells which are generally found in Company of extreme Wretchedness. They seemed to glory, in the Presence of the Officers of the Galleys, in caressing and consoling us, and in exhorting us to Perseverance. Their Example drew not a few *English* Officers of the first Rank, whose Actions testified a Piety becoming true Protestants. The Soldiery also came in Crowds, and in their Manner of expressing their Zeal, swore that if we were not delivered by fair Means, their Swords would do it by foul: Usually there was free Egress and Regress
aboard

aboard the Gallies; but on this Occasion, the Almoners entreated Mr. *Langeron* to permit no Persons entering, because of the Indignities which they said were offered to the Roman Catholic Religion. Orders were given accordingly; and the *English* Soldiers, offering to enter, were civilly refused Admission: They laid their Hands on their Swords, and averred that as they were Masters of the Citadel and Town, they would be Masters of the Gallies also, and were resolved to enter by Force. The Officers were therefore constrained to admit all that came. Things were thus circumstanced, when one Day an *English* Colonel, whose Name I forget, had a Conference with me; importing, that Mr. *Hill*, who was constituted Governor of *Dunkirk* by Queen *Anne*, might be ignorant of our Detention, and the Cause of it; he concluded, by advising me to address him by a Petition, informing him of our Situation, and imploring his Redress. I accordingly drew up a Petition in the best Manner I was able, and had it presented to Mr. *Hill*. The next Day this Gentleman sent his Secretary to me, with Instructions to say that his Excellency was pleased with my Information

formation I had given him of our Detention, and that he would do his utmost to set us free. But as it was out of his Power to do this without the Queen, his Mistress's Leave, he would write to her Majesty; and that her Orders, which he assured himself would be in our Favour, would determine his Actions with regard to our Deliverance. He desired us to wait a Fortnight with Patience, and then we might be sure, if not of Redress, at least of having all Methods try'd which might be consistent with Justice. The Secretary added, that if we had Occasion for any Sums of Money, my Lord offered his Purse, which we might command. I reply'd that we wanted nothing but his Lordship's Protection; and that our sincerest Acknowledgments were due to his Lordship for his Intentions to serve us. I let the Brethren know of this Transaction, at the same Time admonishing them to be on their guard in admitting the *English* Soldiers to any Intimacy with them, and avoid all Discourse that might animate them to use Violence in procuring us our Liberty. On the contrary, that they should be informed of the Governor's Inten-

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tion of serving us, and his Request that we should wait the Queen's Orders with Tranquility. From that Time all was calm, and each of us awaited with Patience the News from *England*. In this Interval of Expectation, the Governor became a great Friend of Mr. *Langeron's*, our Commodore.

IN Conversation one Day together, Mr. *Hill* seemed to wonder at the unaccountable Conduct of the *French* Court, in not taking the Protestant Slaves away before the *English* were possessed of the City. They could not be ignorant, he said, that the *English* looked with Detestation on the Severity with which those Sufferers were treated; and that in all the Churches of *England* Prayers were continually put up for their Deliverance; that, in a Word, the Court of *France* must have foreseen that twenty-two Protestants in Sight of an *English* Garrison, loaded with Chains for what was looked upon as a Merit not a Crime, would be extremely apt to breed a Mutiny among the Soldiers; and that the Queen of *England* must have been obliged to set them free, in order to prevent more fatal Consequences. The Soldiery, in fact, continues he,
are

are already prepared to rise, and take by Force what we cannot in Justice allow. Mr. *Langeron* allowed that the *French* Court had acted imprudently; but Sir, says he, I see no Method of preventing what may happen; and to your Prudence alone I must have Recourse to extricate me from this Embarrassment; for I am conscious the King, my Master, will never give his Consent to setting the Protestant Slaves free. *Hill* reply'd, that he knew only one Method to prevent any disagreeable Consequence. Do you write, said he, to the *French* Ministry, to give Orders for their being carried off privately by Sea; I shall concur in this Measure, and all Danger will be thus prevented. Mr. *Langeron* followed his Advice, and received an Order from Court to act in Concert with my Lord *Hill*, and their Project was executed in the following Manner.

THE first of *October*, which is the Feast of St. *Remy*, we perceived a fishing Bark chained along Side our Galley: A Report was spread that this Vessel had been confiscated for carrying contraband Goods; and the *English* Soldiers as well as we were thus imposed upon. Towards Night the Retreat was beat as usual, and all went to rest. I

was in the Provision Chamber fast asleep, when our Major entered, armed with a cocked Pistol, and two of the Galley's Soldiers, who soon awaked me, holding their Bayonets to my Breast, and threatened if I made the least Noise or Resistance, to put me that instant to death. My My Friend the Major added his Exhortations in a civil Manner, that I should not give any Disturbance; else he would be reluctantly obliged to obey his Orders and kill me. I begged to know what new Crime I had been guilty of to merit this Usage? No Crime, reply'd he; nor shall there be any Punishment if you do not force us to it by Disobedience. I was now carried on board the fishing Bark, and thrust down into the Hold, where all was dark and silent, which was necessary, to prevent the *English* Centinel of the Garrison, who was not far off, from perceiving us. Upon coming down here, I found my twenty-one Brothers in Bonds, who had been conducted hither in the same Manner. Here they chained us all together, still observing the most profound Silence; and though we were so bound as to be unable to make the least Resistance, yet a Soldier stood

stood over each of us, and with their Bayonets fixed, bid us at our Peril not to speak.

THE Bark now prepared to leave the Harbour; it was necessary to pass by an *English* Guard-ship, which was always stationed in the middle of the Port to prevent any Vessel from going out without Leave. This Ship brought our Vessel too; but the Master of the Bark, who was an *Englishman*, satisfied the Captain, by saying, that we were going to fish for my Lord *Hill*, and shewed his Lordship's Pass for that Purpose. We were in the same Manner examined by all the Commanders of the Forts and Piers, and received the same Answer, till at last we got into the open Sea. The Soldiers upon this left us, mounted upon Deck, but kept the Hatches still close shut upon us: However, we placed ourselves now more commodiously upon the Sand, which served as Ballast. We were confident that no Ship went to Sea without Provisions, though no more than Bread and Water; but as we could see none neither here nor upon our entering, we could not help being firmly persuaded that they designed to sink us to the Bottom, and that the

Soldiers were gone to save themselves in the Shallop, which was fastened to the Bark.

IT can be easily imagined the Agony we were in, and the gloomy Conjectures we made upon this Occasion. In utter Darkness, afraid to speak, our Imaginations already heated by the Force used in conducting us hither, we felt more Terror than is sometimes even in Death. Thus we passed the Night, putting up unceasing Prayers to Heaven, with all the Fervour of Men who expect instant Death. Some, premature in their Fears, would at Times cry out, My Brothers we are sinking, I feel the Water pouring in. This encreased our Distress, and redoubled our Devotion.

THERE was, notwithstanding, one old Man, whose Conduct was so extraordinary at this Juncture, that had not our Fears prevented our Mirth, we must have laughed at his Frugality: He was placed on his Knap sack, and hearing it urged that the Water was coming in; he raised himself hastily, and catching up his Knap sack, sought carefully about for a Nail to hang it on. As he was next me, and his fumbling interrupted my
Devotion;

Devotion ; I asked what he was about ? My Knapfack, replied he, I'm in Pain lest it should get wet, and then my things in it will be spoiled. Think of your Soul honest Man, returned I ; for if you are drowned, no matter for the Knapfack. You advise right, replied the old Man, I never thought of that, and immediately desisted from his search.

THIS Anecdote, how trifling so ever, shews that our favourite Passions attend us to the last Moment, and all sudden Conversions may consequently be suspected, if not of Hypocrisy, at least of Enthusiastic Passion.

WE now perceived by the Ship's Motion, that we went with Sails, but knew not what Wind blew, nor whither we were going. When Morning came, the Hatches were opened, and as I was next the Hatchway, I stood up and could see upon Deck ; the first Object that presented, was our Serjeant Major, a Man who had professed the utmost Friendship for me, and who owed me some Obligations for speaking to our Captain in his Favour. *Prarie*, cried I, who thought of finding you here ! Yes, my Friend,

said he, with a facetious Air, I have been ordered upon this disagreeable Duty ; I suppose you have reposed but scurvily last Night. I asked him whither we were bound ? which he answered, by pointing to *Calais* ; before which we were now arrived. You are going to be landed there, says he, tho' you will make but a slight Stay in the Town ; you must prepare your Legs to walk farther up the Country. But Sir, said I, it is impossible to force Men, decrepid with Age or enfeebled with Disease to walk (for some of our Companions were eighty Years old, and I was at that Time labouring under a *Tertian Fever* :) the King himself cannot expect Obedience in such a Case, and I am certain he has ordered Waggon for the Infirm and Weak, among his general Directions. You may read here, replied the Serjeant, shewing his Orders, and you will find but one Waggon appointed to carry the Baggage, but no mention made of the Sick and Weak, thro' the whole. I carried my Eyes over the Beginning of the Paper, and stopt at the Conclusion, which ran thus : *For Havre de Grace,*

Grace, to the Care of the Intendant, where they must wait till further Orders.

THIS was sufficient to satisfy my Curiosity on a Subject in which my Conductor affected Secrecy. I descended among my fellow Prisoners, and let them know the Place of our Destination, but spoke as low as possible, lest the Serjeant should overhear. We were landed at *Calais*, and were conducted to Prison, where we spent the Night very uncomfortably. The next Morning, a Keeper (for we were followed by one from the Gallies) chained us two and two by the Legs, and after passed a long Chain thro' the Rings of those which coupled us together, so that the eleven Couples were all chained together. This was the Order of our miserable Cavalcade; and thus loaded with Chains were we to walk a Journey of some Hundred Miles. Among this Company of Slaves were some old Men, who thro' Weakness usually attendant on Age and their other Infirmities, were unable to walk half a Mile, even tho' freed from their Chains. We had beside several of the Company actually sick; and the sedentary Life, if I may so call it,

which we led aboard the Gallies, entirely disqualified us for taking this Journey on Foot. It was impossible, therefore, for us to walk four or five Leagues a Day as our Orders imported. After we had been chained, I called to the Serjeant, who was now become our Captain : You see, Captain, said I, if the Wretches now before you are able to proceed. Take my Advice, provide us a Couple of Waggons to carry the Sick and Weak; you have a right to demand them, thro' whatsoever Towns we pass. I know my Orders, replied he, and shall observe them. This silenced me; so we all set forward. We had not advanced a quarter of a League, when a little Hill across our way was to be surmounted; but as well might they expect *Crabs to fly*, as our old Companions to scale such an *Alps* as this. Three or four of the poor Creatures laid themselves upon the Ground in despair, unable to proceed a Foot further; and as we were all fastened by the same Chain, unless the rest chose to haul them along, it was impossible for any of the Company to advance. Our Captain and the Guards used all their Eloquence

to

to prevail upon us to take Courage and renew our Efforts to proceed ; but it was impossible. The Captain was in a strange Perplexity, not knowing how to behave. We all sat down on the Ground to give those that were wearied time to rest, and then renew our Journey with recruited Vigour. We might, however, have staid there till Dooms Day, before Strength would return to the Decrepid. I again called to the Captain, whom this unexpected Impotence had embarrassed to the last Degree. Sir, says I, there are but two Methods to remedy these Inconveniencies ; either shoot us immediately thro' the Heads, or supply us with Waggon. Permit me to inform you, that as you have always served at Sea, you are an utter Stranger to the Length of the Journey, which is now before us. In all marching Orders, if not expressly, at least it is intentionally ordered, that Carriages shall be provided for the Infirm, whether Soldiers or Criminals ; and it is consequently your Duty to provide them thro' whatever Towns we pass. What you are to do is as follows, send a Detachment of Soldiers to the first Town on the Road ; take as
many

many Waggon as may be necessary for carrying the Sick and Weak ; and to shew the Desire we have of submitting to his Majesty's Orders, we will give every Day six Livres for the Hire of each Waggon ; which will be all clear Gains to you, as the Country is obliged to furnish these Waggon for nothing. This last Argument seemed to prevail ; and some of the Soldiers, who were better skilled in this Affair than he, confirmed what I had said, and determined him to follow my Advice. The Peasants furnished Waggon to the next Stage, and thus from one Stage to another, to *Havre de Grace*.

Our Captain was a simple good natured Man ; he had strict Orders given him at *Dunkirk*, to conceal from us the Place of our Destination. These Precautions were used, as it was feared the *Dutch* Garrison of *Aire*, who made Excursions as far as *Calais* and *Boulogne*, might be apprized of our Route, and so attempt our Rescue. The Captain, as we were upon the Road, one Day rode up, for he went on Horse-back, to the Waggon in which I was carried, and entered into Conversation with me. After talking some
Time

Time of indifferent Matters, I at last asked him to what Place we were going? Seeing him affect reserve on this Head, I told him it was unnecessary, for I knew as well as he, that we were destined to *Havre de Grace*. It surprized him extremely, how I could come to know, not reflecting that he had shewn me his Orders; and he went so far as gravely to ask if I was a Sorcerer or a Prophet! I reply'd, that I was too honest a Man for the one, and too great a Sinner for the other; but this is no great a Secret, said I, for not one of us, that is not as well acquainted with our Destination as you or I.

I RALLIED him for some Time on his Circumspection; and thus we passed the Day in mutual good Humour. He really was a good natured Man, and took every possible Method of making our Journey less painful, supplying us with proper Provisions the whole Way: But as he could not transgress his Orders, we could be accommodated with no other Lodging than the Gaols belonging to those Towns, where we set up at Night, or Stables where there were no Prisons to be found.

WE

WE at length arrived at *Havre de Grace*, where we were lodged much more commodiously than upon the Road. It may be known that in this Town there are great Numbers of *Converts*; who, notwithstanding their forced Apostacy, still retain a zealous Regard for the reformed Religion. Those Gentlemen, apprized of our Arrival, and knowing that we should be remitted to the Intendant of the Marine, waited upon him beforehand, requesting that he would shew us some Regard; setting forth, that tho' now in Chains, we had formerly been their Brothers in the Gospel, and had committed no other Crime, but adhering to the Religion of our Fathers; adding, that if we were kindly used, they should be highly obliged, and would answer with their Lives, that none would abuse his Tendernefs by offering to escape. As the Gentlemen who composed this Deputation were the most considerable Merchants in the City, the Intendant answered them very obligingly, that upon their Accounts we should be treated with all the Indulgence in his Power. I have Orders from Court, said he, to put them in a Place of Safety: As this order does not specify
the

the Place, they shall have a convenient Apartment ; and as I am ordered to supply them only with Bread and Water, they shall at least have as good Bread as my own Table is supplied with, and Liberty shall be granted you of seeing them whenever you please. Things were thus happily pre-disposed, when we arrived at *Havre de Grace*. We were carried to the Arsenal, and there provided with a spacious Apartment, which had been a Storehouse for the Cordage. Here we had proper Beds to lie on, and every Thing convenient during our Stay. Upon entering this Chamber, we found the Intendant and our Protectors, who had solicited him in our Favour. These Gentlemen seemed transported to see us, they embraced us, and testified every Mark of Esteem for us in the Intendant's Presence. While they were thus giving us Consolation, the Officers of the Customs arrived and demanded the Intendant's Permission to search us. He, as he was obliged, granted their Request ; but facetiously added, that he feared they would find more Lice than Booty. Nevertheless, they examined us strictly, but without finding any
 thing

thing to seize. Seeing at last among our Bundles, a Box in which we kept our Books of Devotion, they demanded the Key. I was very loath to deliver it, as being apprehensive they would burn our little Library. The Intendant perceiving my Fears, persuaded me to give the Key, and to be under no Apprehensions for the Consequence. When the Officer had opened the Box; Behold, cried he, the Library of *Calvin*; to the Flames with it! Rascal, replied the Intendant, do your Duty, but go not a Step beyond it, or you shall dearly suffer for the Transgression. The Officer instantly obeyed, shut the Box, and took leave with the rest of his Company.

WHEN settled in our new Habitation, the Chain which bound us all together was taken away, and only that left which coupled us two by two. The Intendant carried his Services so far, as to ask if we were content with our Guards: being satisfied by our Answers, that they had treated us with Tenderness all our Journey; if so, then said this indulgent Gentleman, they shall still be your Guards, while you stay; and he gave them
their

their guard Room opposite to ours. Our Protectors of the Town begged Permission to supply us with Provisions, which was granted, and an Order to give free egress and regress to all who should come from nine in the Morning till eight at Night, and that none should molest us in our Exercises of Devotion. Our Chamber was now become a Place of constant Resort, for Persons of every Sex and Age. We went to Prayers Morning and Evening; and after reading Sermons, with which we were provided, we joined in singing Psalms; so that our Prison now resembled a Church. Our Visitants were very assiduous in giving us their Company, and seemed extremely touched with our Conduct and Conversation. Nothing was to be heard among them but Exclamations, that seemed to arise from Repentance, and Sighs of Contrition. Seeing our Chains, and the Resignation with which we endured our Bondage, they reproached themselves with Weakness, and seemed in Confusion for not having resisted to the End. But alas! they were softened rather by viewing our Misery, than by our Exhortations, or the Stings of their own Consciences.

Consciences. Preaching was a Gift to which none of us were called, we neither had Learning nor Grace, sufficient for so arduous an Employment. This Conduct of our lately converted Brethren, serves plainly to evince, that the Church of *Rome*, in her Conversions, instead of reclaiming a Man from Error, only loads him with the Guilt of Hypocrisy, and adds the Sin of Diffimulation to his former Prejudices, if they happened to be erroneous. The Morning after our Arrival at *Havre de Grace*, there was not one Convert to be seen at all the Churches; and in spite of the Exhortations and the Menaces of their respective Curates to the contrary, they all flocked to our Prison. The Curate, whose Business it was to take this Affair under consideration, complained to the Intendant. The latter, however, made no other reply, than that he could not force People's Consciences; that he esteemed a declared Heretic, more than a concealed Hypocrite; and that this Occurrence would serve for the future as a sufficient Criterion to distinguish between the Heretics and Catholics of that City. These Reasons did not satisfy

satisfy the Curate; he sometimes paid us a Visit, and always found our Chamber filled with his late Profelytes, who did not scruple to tell him that we were better Christians than they, because we had more Constancy. A Discourse like this, it may be easily imagined, gave him no small Uneasiness.

IT was in the Power of none of us to determine what influenced the Ministry to send us to *Havre de Grace*. Many conjectured that they had Thoughts of transporting us from thence to *America*; and I am almost persuaded that this was their first Intention: For if they had at first determined to send us to *Paris*, there to join the Assembly of Galley-Slaves, to what Purpose was it to order us out of the Road to *Havre*? for, when there, we are equally distant from *Paris* as when at *Dunkirk*. Nay, it is farther to be presumed, that the Scandal which the Catholics received in *Havre* from the Converts, was the Cause that the Ministry changed their Resolutions. No Means were left untried, by the Curate of this Town, to get us away: He wrote, as we afterwards understood, to Court, that our

Stay

Stay served only to shake the Faith of his Profelytes, who, since our Arrival, had forsaken his Church. Nothing more was wanting to engage the Ministers to give Orders to send us away as privately as possible, to prevent any Insurrection in our Favour. There was certainly no Necessity for these Precautions; the Converts of the Town had no such sanguine Intentions; and as for us, we were as unable to use Force, as unwilling to put it in Execution. But the Curate had painted us all in Colours so black, that the Court complied with his Solicitations, and gave Orders for another Journey.

THE fifteenth Day after our Arrival at *Havre*, at about Nine in the Evening, when we were just sat down to Supper, I perceived somebody tap me on the Shoulder. Turning about to see who it was, I perceived a young Lady of Distinction, Daughter to one of the principal Bankers of the City, to whom I had some Days before lent a Volume of Sermons. She had on a Veil, which she lifted up to tell me hastily, and with her Eyes bathed in Tears, Here, Sir, is your Book, Heaven give you Constancy for every

every Trial; you will be carried away this Night at Twelve o'Clock: Four Waggon's are ordered for this Purpose, and one of the Gates of the Town left open to give you Egress. I thanked her for the Trouble she was at in coming herself, and at so unexpected an Hour, with this Information; and asked to know the Manner she took to get herself introduced. This, she replied, does not concern you to know; it is more expedient to tell you that you are going to *Paris*, where you will be lodged in the Dungeon of *Tournelle*, there to join the Slaves which are sent once a Year from thence to *Marseilles*. I was desirous, continued she, of being the Messenger of this sorrowful News, that you may be prepared for the Event, and strengthened to support with Constancy the Miseries that await you. After she had thus spoke, she vanished, without being perceived by any of our Guards, or without our knowing how she could get away.

IT is very apparent that the Guard of the Arsenal permitted this young Lady to pass thro' his House, which had a Door that opened into
our

our Apartment. But be this as it will, we continued at Supper with great Tranquillity, which, when over, instead of preparing our Beds, as usual, we began to pack up our little Baggage for the ensuing Journey.

WHILE we were thus employed, our Captain, according to his Custom, came to sit an Hour with us, and smook his Pipe; but seeing us so differently engaged from what he expected, he asked the Reason. Why, Sir, replied I, we are getting ready to go off at Midnight; and you should prepare as well as we. You are a Fool, interrupted he; sure I should know best. I persisted in my Advice, and related the Circumstances to him that I had just before received from the Lady. I tell you, says he, that you are deceived; I have been with the Intendant myself this Evening at Eight o'Clock, and he only gave the usual Orders.

WHEN he had finished this Discourse, a Servant let him know, that the Intendant immediately desired to speak to him. As soon as he was returned from the Intendant, he enters our Apartment with all the Signs of Surprize; and
lifting

lifting up his Hands, In the Name of God, cries he, tell, if you be Sorcerers or Prophets? I am inclined, however, to believe that you are Favourites of Heaven; as you seem too honest, and too devout, to implore the Assistance of the Devil. No, Sir, replied I, we are neither one nor t'other; and the Cause of your Surprise may very easily be accounted for by natural Means. I cannot conceive how, says the Captain; for the Intendant himself has this Minute told me, that no-body in Town, except himself and me, was privy to these new Orders: And I shall never be persuaded but that Providence favours you in a peculiar Manner. Heaven send it may, replied I: so we all prepared for our Journey as fast as we could.

METHINKS, in the mean Time, the Reader desires to know how the young Lady could become acquainted with the Secret. This was what I was not acquainted with till some Time after, when in Prison at *Rouen*, where this Lady's Father, coming to pay us a Contribution collected among our Brethren at *Havre de Grace*, informed me of the whole Affair.

HIS

HIS Daughter, it seems, was courted by the Intendant's Secretary ; and the former having received his Orders from the Court the Evening before our Departure, the Secretary had an Opportunity of reading them ; and as he knew it would be doing his Mistress a Pleasure, he went in Haste to inform her. As to her Manner of procuring Entrance, that was a Secret of which he was equally ignorant with ourselves.

BUT to proceed : At Midnight the Waggon came, as was expected, to carry us away. We could not help laughing within ourselves, to see with what Mystery and Silence all was conducted. The Wheels of the Waggon, as well as the Horses who drew them, were unshod, to prevent Noise ; and each Vehicle was covered in such a Manner as if designed only to carry Merchandize. Thus we were conducted out of Town, without Lights, and in the most profound Silence.

NOTHING remarkable happened till our Arrival at *Rouen* ; where, upon our Entry, we were conducted before the Magistrate of the City, to receive Orders relative to our Accommodation for

the Night; which, as I have already said, is generally only a Formality for conducting us to Prison. But guess our Surprize, when the Gaoler, to whose Prison we were ordered, refused to give us Admiffion. Our Captain shewed him an Order from the Magistrate, and also entreated him to lodge us for one Night; but the Gaoler persisted in his Refusal, alledging that he would sooner be discharged from his Office than venture to take us under his Care.

WE were now brought to another Prison, but were still repulsed as before. At last we were conducted to a Place called the *Tower*, a Prison destined for the most atrocious Criminals. The Gaoler, who was compelled to receive us, led us down into a frightful Cave; and, assisted by six Turnkeys, chained us to the Walls in such a Manner that it was impossible to move: Thus, without letting us have a Candle, or the least Provision, he locked the Prison-door, and left us. As we were famishing with Hunger, we roared out as loud as we could, that he should send us some Nourishment, for which we would pay him his Demand. But we were

obliged to continue our Cries at least two Hours, before this reasonable Request could be complied with. At last some Persons without approached the Wicket, and we could hear them say, Those Folks truly talk very good *French*. These Words made us conclude that there was some Misunderstanding, some false Prejudices against us, which made the Gaoler use us so barbarously. We therefore renewed our Entreaties, promising to pay beforehand for what should be brought. At last the Gaoler, attended by his Turnkeys, entered our Prison; and after having examined us all, one after the other, demanded if we were Natives of *France*. We assured him we were. How comes it to pass then, returned he, that you are not Christians; and what Reason have you for worshipping the Devil, who thus pays you with Misery for your Wickedness? My Friend, cried I, discontinue this trifling Behaviour; we do not want to be scoffed at, we are famishing with Hunger; if this Money (giving him a Louis-d'or) can procure us any Provisions, let us have them with all convenient Speed. If you are not contented with that Sum,
speak

speak what you would have, and it shall be instantly advanced. In Truth, replied the Gaoler, you do not seem to answer the Description I had of you ; you appear at least to be reasonable Creatures ; but tell me candidly what you are ; for these eight Days, while we have been expecting you, we have heard nothing in Town but of your being Natives of *Lapland*, Magicians, and more wicked than the Devil himself ; that you have been several Years aboard the Gallies at *Dunkirk*, where nothing could tame you, and are now transmitted to the Gallies at *Marseilles*, to try whether they cannot bring you to Reason. Prithee tell me freely if all this be true ? I quickly conjectured that this malicious Report in our Prejudice came from the Jesuits, to render us odious in *Rouen*, where there are a great Number who make Profession of the Reformed Religion. Accordingly I went about to undeceive the Gaoler, and gave him some Account of what we were, and the political Reasons for transferring us from *Dunkirk* to *Marseilles*.

DURING this Discourse, our Captain came in to dispatch some necessary Business; when the Gaoler, taking him aside, asked if we were really the civilized Creatures we appeared to be. Yes certainly, replied our Captain; and I would undertake, myself alone, to conduct them over all *France*. It is true, they are *Huguenots*; but, for my Part, I can easily pardon that Crime. And are they guilty of no other? says the Gaoler. The best People of *Rouen* are of that Religion. I do not much like their Principles indeed, continued he, because I don't know them; but then I love their Persons, because I am sure they are honest Men. Then addressing himself to us, You continue here to-morrow, Gentlemen; I shall take care to let several *Huguenots* of this Town know what Prisoners I have got, and I'm sure they will not fail coming to see you; and, depend upon it, my Doors shall be open to receive them.

UPON this, he ordered his Attendants to unchain us, and to give us our usual Freedom. In the mean Time he hastened himself to procure us some Refreshment. The next Day he kept his
Word,

Word, and introduced several of our Brother Protestants, who soon spread the News of our Arrival. All that Day our Prison, which was very large, was crowded : It was here that the Lady's Father came to pay us the Contribution collected among our Friends at *Havre de Grace*, of which I have already taken some Notice.

I NEVER in my Life saw Men so zealous as the Brethren of *Rouen* ; they extolled, even to Exaggeration, our Constancy ; they exhorted us, in the most pathetic Manner, to Perseverance : In short, their Ardour was so great, that some were for conducting us publickly a League out of Town, and would help to carry our Chains on their Shoulders. To this we would not by any means consent, as it opposed the Humility of which our Religion makes Profession, and in the End might involve them in troublesome Consequences.

WE set out from *Rouen* in Waggon, as usual ; the Kindness of our Captain softening all the Rigours of our Journey. He was attached to serve us, not only by the Gratifications which he received from our Friends at *Rouen*, but by

a firm Persuasion that we were possessed of the Gift of Prophecy. When our Keeper used to take the usual Precautions in examining our Chains, our Captain always told him that his Pains were unnecessary ; for that we were very willing to obey the King's Pleasure without Compulsion. But, added he, if they were disposed to escape, neither yours, nor the Precautions of all the Men on Earth, could hinder them. We would willingly have undeceived this honest Man, but he was obstinate, and had determined to believe we had supernatural Endowments.

ON the 17th of *November* 1712, at three in the Afternoon, we arrived at *Paris*. We were brought to the Castle of *Tournelle*, formerly an House of Pleasure belonging to the Royal Family, but now converted into a Prison for Gallies Slaves, of whatsoever Crimes convicted. We were conducted into this vast but dismal Abode. But Heavens ! what were our Apprehensions upon entering ! The Appearance of the wretched Inhabitants of this spacious Cavern filled us with Horror, particularly as we
were

were going to encrease the despairing Number. I must confess that, all accustomed as I was to Dungeons, Chains, Bolts, and every Instrument of Cruelty, which the Tyranny of Man has invented, or his Crimes have rendered necessary, I had not Resolution to behold this Mansion of Despair without trembling. As it is impossible to give an adequate Idea of it, the Reader must be content with the following faint Description.

THIS Prison, or rather Cavern, is round, and of vast Extent. The Floor is made uneven by large Oak Beams, which are placed at three Feet Distance from each other. These Beams, are two Feet and an half thick, and ranged along the Floors in such a Manner, that at first Sight they might be mistaken for Seats, were they not destined to a much more disagreeable Purpose. To these are fastened large Iron Chains, a Foot and an half long: At Intervals of two Feet from each other; and at the End of each Chain, is a large Ring of the same Metal. When the Slave is first brought into this Prison, he is made to lie along till his Head touches the Beam; then the Ring is put round his Neck,

and fastened by an Hammer and Anvil kept for the Purpose. As the Chains are fixed in the Beam, at two Feet Distance from each other, and some of the Beams are forty Feet long, twenty Men are thus chained down in a Row; and so in Proportion to the Length of the Beams. In this Manner are fastened five hundred Wretches, in an Attitude certainly enough to melt the hardest Heart.

IMAGINE a Man unable to stretch himself along, as the Beam to which his Neck is fixed is too high, and also unable to sit or stand upright, as he is chained down too short; in a Word, the Posture is between sitting and lying; Part of the Body on the Block to which it is chained, and Part on the Floor; than which Situation nothing can be more incommodious.

IN this Manner we were chained among the rest, and though sufficiently enured to Fatigues and Hardships of every Kind, our present Situation surpassed all our former Wretchedness. We felt Pains beyond Expression in all our Limbs, particularly the old Men among us, who called a thousand Times on Death to give them Ease, and

and prayed to God to give them either Strength for the Severity of their Trial, or their Tormentors Compassion to abate their Sufferings.

It may here be asked, perhaps, how the Slaves, who are brought hither from all Corners of *France*, can survive an Imprisonment of five or six Months? To which I answer, that infinite Numbers sink beneath their Torments here; and they whose Constitution is strong enough to bear them through, are scarce alive at the Expiration of this Term. The only Sounds that are heard in this vast Cavern, are the Groans and Complaints of the Penitent, with the Blasphemies of Despair. None here to sooth each other's Distress by Pity; for each has peculiar Miseries sufficient to engross his own Compassion: The only Attendants here are Turnkeys, whom Use has made familiar with Distress, and Example instructed in Cruelty. Wretches might find some Comfort in being permitted to complain; but even this is denied. All Night five or six Fellows walk round the Prison, and unmercifully whip any Slave who offers to vent his Sorrows. With respect

to Provisions, indeed, there is nothing to complain of. An Order of *Beguines*, called the *Grey Sisters*, every Day, about twelve o'Clock, bring Soup, Meat, and Bread, which they distribute in sufficient Quantities among the Prisoners. This Order is of no long standing, and was founded by the *Fathers of the Mission*. Their Employment is to supply the Poor of *Paris* with the Necessaries of Life, and to administer any Medicines that may be thought necessary. Beside, they have the Direction of several Hospitals, particularly those designed for Soldiers, and by their Rules are obliged to visit and assist the Prisoners. In some Places they are also appointed to instruct the Youth of their own Sex in the Principles of Religion. How well they are qualified for this last Employment, the following Anecdote will sufficiently evince.

THE Lady Superior, who came every Day to distribute the Provisions, one Day stopp'd to hold a Conference with me, giving me at the same Time more Meat than I had Occasion for. This Practice she continued at every Visit, till
I was

I was at last rallied by the rest of the Prisoners, as being the Favourite of my Lady Superior.

ONCE, after giving me my Portion of Meat, she said it was a very great Pity I was not a Christian. And pray Madam, said I, who told you that I am not a Christian? Ay, replied she, I know you are a Kind of Christian; but then you believe in *Moses*, do you not? And do not you also Madam, believe that *Moses* was a Great Prophet? said I. I believe *Moses* a great Prophet! replied she; *Moses* the Impostor a Prophet! that would be good indeed. No, thanks to my Parents, I was never guilty of such outrageous Heresy; and I could plainly convince you, if you would but listen to my Arguments, that you will be damn'd to all Eternity, for being thus seduced by *Moses* the Impostor. I could not forbear smiling at her ridiculous Skill in Argument, but contented myself with saying, that there was neither Time nor Place to discuss this Matter properly, but begged she would mention this Conversation at her next Confession; and her Confessor, if he happened to have more Learning than she, would shew her that what she

now

now said of *Moses* was sinful. But to return : We remained thus chained to the Floor but three Days, at the Expiration of which we were delivered in the following Manner. A Protestant whose Name was *Giradot*, an opulent Merchant of *Paris*; being apprized of our Arrival, requested the Governor of the Prison to be permitted to pay us his Respects, and to do us what Service lay in his Power. The Governor, tho' a Friend, could not allow his entering the Prison to speak to us, for none but Ecclesiastics are permitted to do this. All that could be obtained, was Permission to see us thro' an Iron Grate, which looked into the Court-Yard of the Castle. He accordingly approached this Grate, but could not speak to us at such a Distance; nor could we have been distinguished from the rest of the Convicts, but by the red Cassocks in which we were dressed. Seeing us in the Attitude already described, chained by the Neck each to his respective Beam; he asked the Governor if we could not be chained by the Leg as some others, whom he could perceive thro' the Grate were. The Governor replied,

plied, that they who were only chained by the Leg, paid so much a Month for Indulgence. Be pleased Sir, then says our Friend, to indulge these poor Creatures with the same Liberty, and I will answer for the Expence. The Governor promised to comply, and next Morning entered the Prison. He enquired, which of us was Treasurer to our Society: When I was pointed out, the Governor asked if we would be glad to be chained by the Leg before the Grate. I testified the utmost Satisfaction at his Proposal, and at last agreed to give him fifty Crowns for his Indulgence during our abode in this Prison, and instantly paid him from our common Stock. We were now unchained from the Beams, and fastened by the Leg as near the Grate as possible. We were also much at our Ease, as the Chain on our Legs had by long Use become as easy as our Stockings. It was two Ells long, so that we could sit, lie, or stand with ease, and compared to our former Situation we were extremely happy. Mr. *Giradot* came frequently to visit us, and we conversed together thro' the Grate, tho' with that Caution which was necessary among a Number

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ber of other Slaves, who might over-hear our Conversation. We remained here but a Month, at the Expiration of which we set out with the rest of the Slaves for *Marseilles*.

EIGHT Days before our Departure, a young Jesuit (for the Jesuits have the Direction of spiritual Affairs in this Prison) came to preach to the Prisoners, in order to prepare them for Confession and receiving the Sacrament. He seemed very ignorant; and though I had heard him frequently, his Text was always the same, viz. *Come unto me all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and I will ease you, &c.* He maintained and endeavoured to prove, that our Saviour meant by the Words of his Text auricular Confession, and attempted to strengthen his Arguments by several Passages from the Fathers. We were obliged to hear his Sermons, and were amazed at his Absurdities, but never had an Opportunity of refuting them. He always avoided our Conversation with the utmost Caution; believing a Report which was spread, that we were *Huguenot* Ministers, and consequently more than his Match. Such were his Fears of an Interview,
that

that either going out or coming in, he always went a great Way about to avoid us. The other Jesuits in the mean Time were not unemployed, they were busy in confessing these Wretches, and administering the Sacrament to them in that frightful Attitude above described. Even we, who had not so much Faith in the Sacrament as they, were disgusted at the Indecency. I observed that after giving them the Host they were made to take a Soup of Wine from a Chalice which the Priest presented. I asked one who was next me, if they received the Communion in both Kinds: To which he replied in the Negative; adding, that the Wine which was given was not consecrated, and was only a Precaution used in this Prison to oblige the Slaves to swallow the Host. This Custom was continued since one of them, instead of swallowing the Sacrament, kept it by him, having made a Bargain, it seems, with the Devil, by which he promised to furnish an Host; upon condition, that the Devil would set him and all the Slaves at Liberty upon the Way. The Devil, says the Story, stood to his Bargain, and one fine Night having broke their Chains, all the Prisoners

Prisoners escaped, to the great Astonishment of the Guards, who readily perceived that the Devil was in it. I could have puzzled the simple Slave who gravely told this Story, by asking what the Devil could have done with that which he believed to be the Body and Blood of Christ; but I chose rather to be silent than draw upon my Head the Indignation of the Jesuits, who eagerly desired to have these Sort of Stories believed, tho' they themselves gave no credit to such idle Tales. On the tenth of *December*, at nine in the Morning, we left our dismal Abode, and were conducted into a spacious Court before the Castle. We were chained two and two together by the Neck, with a heavy Chain three Feet long, in the Middle of which was fixed a Ring. After being thus paired, we were placed in Ranks, Couple before Couple; and a long and weighty Chain passed thro' the Rings, by which means we were all fastened together. This Train, which consisted of more than four hundred Slaves, made a strange Appearance. We were after this ordered to sit down on the Ground, in which Posture we were to wait till the Procurator
General

General came to discharge us from his Care unto that of our Captain of the Journey. About twelve the Procurator, whose Name was *Langlade*, came attended by three Counsellors of the Parliament, called us all by our Names, read to each his Sentence of Condemnation, and remitted us into the Hands of the *Captain*. This Piece of Formality took us up three Hours, which time our good Friend Mr. *Giradot* employed in solliciting the Procurator in our Favour, and prevailed upon him to recommend us to the Captain of the Route. This he did in the strongest Terms; ordered the Captain to distinguish us from the rest, to allow us every Indulgence that was consistent with Safety, to bring back an Attestation under our Hands of his good Behaviour to us during the Journey, and directed him to settle every Thing respecting our March with Mr. *Giradot*. This last Gentleman was ready to do us all the Services in his Power, and requested Permission to embrace us before we departed, which the Procurator politely granted. With all the openness of Friendship, and all the Piety of a Christian, did this good
Man

Man come to bid us farewell, and settled with the Captain every thing preliminary to our Journey. The Captain it seems thought it would be expedient to leave in his Hands any Money that we might be possessed of; for at the first Stage where the Train was to set up, all the Slaves would be searched, their Money taken and never restored. Mr. *Giradot* asked if we were willing to trust the Captain with our Money? We replied in the Affirmative; and as all our Stock was in the common Purse, of which I had the Care, I put it into the Hands of Mr. *Giradot*; who counted it to the Captain, to the Amount of seven or eight hundred Livres. After this it was suggested, that there were several among us sick and feeble, and therefore it would be necessary to be provided with one or two Waggons, as Occasion should require. Besides, continued the Captain, this would be an intolerable Expence to me, and what I never afford any Slave, without first examining his Abilities with the Lash. Mr. *Giradot* readily understood his Meaning, and agreed that we should pay an hundred Crowns for being supplied with Waggons whenever we
 required,

required, without any previous Examination. Properly speaking this was paid only to exempt us from being whipped during the Journey. Mr. *Giradot*, to secure us, made the Captain sign a Receipt for this Sum, by which he acknowledged himself obliged to a Performance of the Articles abovementioned, and to return us the Surplus of our Money, when we came to *Marseilles*.

THINGS being thus disposed, and the Captain having received Orders for the Departure of the *Train*; we all set out at three in the Afternoon, and marched thro' a Part of the City, in order to lie at *Charenton*. A great Number of Protestants placed themselves in the Streets, where the *Train* was to pass, and in spite of the rude Treatment of our insolent Guards, threw themselves about our Necks, to take their Farewell; for we were distinguishable from the rest by our red Cassocks, and by our closing up the Cavalcade. Among these were several People of Distinction, who seemed lifted almost into Enthusiasm at seeing us. Courage, cried they, ye dear Confessors of the Truth, be couragious, suffer

suffer with Constancy in so glorious a Cause, and never doubt of our Prayers to God to assist you in your severest Trials. Four Merchants, Men of Credit and Circumstances, by the Captain's Permission, attended us to *Charenton*; where they obtained a Promise to have us separated from the rest at the Inn, where the *Train* was to put up, in which they had provided a suitable Entertainment. We entered *Charenton*, at six in the Evening by Moon-light. It froze excessive hard, but the Weight of our Chains, being according to the Captain's Calculation an hundred and fifty Pounds upon every Man, with the Swiftneſs of our Pace, had kept us pretty warm, and we were all actually in a Sweat when we entered *Charenton*. Here we were lodged in the Stable of an Inn; but chained so close to the Manger, that we could neither sit nor lie at our Ease. Beside, we had no Bed but the dung and litter of Horses to repose on; for as the Captain conducted the *Train* to *Marseilles*, at his own Expence, where he received twenty Crowns for every one that survived the Journey, he was as saving as possible, and refused us Bedding,

Bedding, nor was any allowed the whole Way. Here, however, we were suffered to repose, if it might be called Repose, till nine at Night, when we were to undergo another Piece of Cruelty ; which almost disgraces Humanity to think a Man could be guilty of.

AT nine o'Clock, while it yet froze excessive hard, our Chains were again unrivettèd, and we all led from the Stable into a Court surrounded with high Walls before the Inn. The whole *Train*, which was ranked at one End of this Court, were commanded to strip off all their Cloaths, and lay them down each before him. The Whip was exercised unmercifully on these who were lazy or presumed to disobey. Every one promiscuously, as well we as others, were obliged to comply with this unnecessary Command. After we were thus stript naked as when born, the whole *Train* was again commanded to march from the Side of the Court in which they were, to the Side opposite them. Here were we for two Hours stark Naked, exposed to all the Inclemency of the Weather, and a cutting Wind that blew from the *North*. All this Time the Archers
were

were rumaging our Rags, under pretence of searching for Knives, Files, or other Instruments, that might be employed in effecting our Escape ; but in reality Money was that for which they fought so earnestly. They took away, however, every thing that was worth taking ; Handkerchiefs, Shirts, Snuff-boxes, Scissars, and never returned any thing they laid their Hands on. When any Slave entreated to have his Goods restored, he was only answered by Blows and Menaces, which effectually silenced, if not satisfied the Querist. This Romage being over, all were ordered to march back to the Place from whence we came, and take again each his respective Bundle of Cloaths. But it was impossible ! We were almost froze to death, and so stiff with cold, that scarce one in the whole *Train* could move. And tho' the Distance was but small, yet frozen like Statues, every Wretch remained where he was, and silently awaited fresh Instances of their Keeper's Cruelty. But they did not long wait, the Whip again was handled, and by the merciless Fury of these Strangers to Pity, the Bodies of the poor Wretches were

were mangled without Distinction; but all in vain, for this could not supply vital Warmth, where Life was no more. Some actually dead, others dying, were dragged along by the Neck, and thrown into the Stable without further Ceremony to take their Fate. And thus died that Night, or the ensuing Morning, eighteen Persons. With respect to our little Society, we were neither beat nor thus dragged along, and we may well attribute the saving of our Lives to the hundred Crowns, which had been advanced before our setting out. The Archers gave us all the Assistance in their Power to walk, and even carried some of us in their Arms to the Place where our Cloaths lay. Happily, and I may add, surprizingly we escaped, and not one died, tho' we were thrice stript upon the Road in the same Manner, and at Times when the Weather was equally cold. While we were thus cruelly treated at *Charenton*, our four Friends of *Paris*, whom I have already mentioned, beheld this Tragedy from the Windows of their Apartment, which opened into the Court.

Such

Such a Spectacle filled them with the highest Compassion for the Sufferers ; they implored the Captain in the most earnest Manner to have pity. But the Barbarian would not hear ; all they could do was to recommend us to Heaven, and exhort us to Perseverance. From that Time we never saw them more ; for instead of being permitted to join Company with us, as the Captain gave them reason to expect, they were refused the least Intercourse, and we sent back to the Stable, and chained up to the Manger as before. We were even deny'd any other Refreshment, than a Bit of Bread and Cheese, and half a Pint of soure Wine ; which, however, served to refresh and add somewhat to our vital Warmth. But what contributed most to our Recovery was the Dung on which we lay. Some buried themselves in it entirely, and the Warmth of this Bed, however nasty the Remedy might be, was perhaps what saved the Lives of half this vast Multitude.

THE next Morning we departed from *Charonton*. Some of our Society, who required it, were put in Waggon, without any previous ill Usage ; but some of the rest of the Train, who had

had been enfeebled by their severe Treatment the preceding Evening, and were even at the Point of Death, could not obtain this Favour, but by undergoing the usual Examination of the Lash; which after suffering, they were dragged by their Chain into the Waggon, and there thrown in to live or die, without further Assistance. But, to add to their Distress, if any in this Vehicle presumed to bemoan his Miseries, he was quickly silenced by the Blows of a Cudgel from one of the Archers. It may be demanded here, why the Captain is not more sparing of the Lives of those Wretches, since he receives twenty Crowns for every Slave he brings alive into *Marseilles*; but is paid nothing for those who die by the Way? The Answer is evident. This Officer, who is obliged to supply Waggons at his own Expence, does not find his Account in thus carrying the Sick and Feeble. To convey a Man in a Waggon from *Paris* to *Marseilles* stands him in more than forty Crowns, without taking Provisions into the Accompt; whence it is evident, that

it is more to his Advantage to kill the Sick and Weak, than carry them.

WHEN a Slave dies by the Way, the Captain has no further Trouble but leaving him to the Curate of the Parish, whose Business it is to bury the Dead, and receiving an Attestation of his Death, signed by the Curate.

IN this Manner we crossed the *Isle of France*, *Burgundy*, and *Maconnois*, till we came to *Lyons*, marching every Day three or four Leagues; long Stages, considering the Weight of our Chains, our being obliged to sleep every Night in Stables upon Dung; our having bad Provisions, and not sufficient Liquid to dilute them; walking all Day mid-leg deep in Mud, and frequently wet through with Rain; swarming with Vermin, and ulcerated with the Itch, the almost inseparable Attendants on Misery. Considering all this, I say, we travelled a great Way each Day. The Cruelty also of the Country People added not a little to our Distress; for, as parched with Thirst, we used to hold out our little wooden Cups for a Drop of Water; You shall have no Water from us, would they say; you
are

are going to Sea, where you will have Water enough.

As to our Society, though we were by no means exempt from Vermin, and other Inconveniences felt by the rest, yet we had the Good Fortune to avoid the Itch. During the Journey not one of us caught this infectious Distemper, though we had been often yoked with others whose Bodies, from this Disorder, were almost one continued Ulcer. I was coupled, at *Dijan*, with one who had been condemned for Desertion; the Protestant who, before him, had been my Yoke-Mate, falling lame of one Leg, was put into the Waggon. This poor Fellow, who was in the mean a good-natured Creature, was so infested with the Itch, that it amazes me how I escaped. He had nothing to cover him but a Shirt, and that almost rotten, which often in the Night stuck so to his Back, and often to my Cassock, that he felt extreme Pain in disengaging himself.

UPON our Arrival at *Lyons*, the whole Train were put aboard large flat-bottom'd Boats, to fall down the *Rhone*, as far as *St. Esprit Bridge*;

from thence we were conducted by Land to *Avignon*, and from *Avignon* to *Marseilles*; where we arrived the 17th of *January* 1713: Many of the Train expired on the Road, and few escaped without being sick, several of which died in the Hospital at *Marseilles*. Our little Society of twenty-two, Thanks to God, arrived at *Marseilles* without any Loss, and in tolerable Health.

THIS was the End of our Journey; a Journey in which I suffered more (particularly after leaving *Paris*) than I had in the twelve Years preceding, either of Imprisonment or Slavery.

OUR Society of twenty-two were put on board a Galley called the *Grand Real*, designed to serve as an Hospital for the Sick, and a Prison for the Slaves newly come, 'till they should be distributed among the thirty-five Gallies, which was the Number then in the Harbour of *Mar-seilles*. The rest of the Train were soon distributed; but our Society remained, as the six Gallies of *Dunkirk* were soon expected; and it was thought adviseable we should resume our former Stations in them, upon their Arrival.

Thus

Thus we greatly encreased the Number of the Reformed aboard the *Real*, for we now amounted to above forty. Our Brothers in Affliction of this Galley received us with the utmost Marks of Affection and Tendernefs, feeling all that Opposition of Passions which was natural in such Circumstances. Rejoiced to have us for Companions, to find us in Health, and still piously resolute; grieved to see us loaded as we were with Chains; and though Companions, only Companions in Adversity.

FATHER *Garcin*, Superior of the Missionaries of *Marseilles*, was at *Paris* when we were confined in the *Tournelle*. He came there frequently to see us, and often had exhorted us to conform, by setting temporal Advantages in our Eyes, as the Recompence of Compliance. Here you are Prisoners (would he say) loaded with Chains, and suffering every Calamity; only change your Sentiments, and you shall be free in a few Hours; and that Liberty shall only be your Introduction to greater Happiness. To what Purpose do you thus go on to torment yourselves? Nothing more probable than that

three Parts of your Society will sink under the Fatigue and the Severity of the Season, in your Route to *Marseilles*; and those who escape will, in all Probability, conform, by my Persuasions, like most of them who have been already confined in that Harbour. To this we answered, that the Example of those last mentioned did not affect us, as each was only responsible for his own Conduct; and we were accordingly resolved to persevere.

THIS Missioner left us for that Time, but was sooner at *Marseilles* than we. The Day after our Arrival he came to pay us a Visit on board the *Real*; and having ordered us into the Cabbin at the Stern of the Galley, counted our Number; and having found it not decreased since we left *Paris*, Gentlemen, says he, I congratulate your good Fortune in thus escaping: you must, I suppose, have suffered much on the Journey. But say, are you not yet wearied with suffering? Sir, replied I, you mistake the human Heart, if you think Persecution can alter its Sentiments, or weaken its Zeal. Persecution indeed may make us Hypocrites; it may make

us Liars, but can never change our Opinions, which can be influenced only by Reason; and it is as much out of our Power to believe against this Reason, as it is impossible not to see it light when our Eyes are opened at Noon-Day. How sophistical is the Gentleman? returned the Missioner. Not so sophistical as you, Sir, when you averred at *Paris*, that you had converted all the Protestants at *Marseilles*. How, in the Name of Truth, could you advance such a ———? Prithee, Peace with thy Absurdities! interrupted he, and left the Room abruptly.

FOR two or three Months after our Arrival at *Marseilles*, nothing worth repeating happened; but about the Beginning of *April*, the Missionaries made a general Exhortation, in order to persuade us to change our Religion, employing, to this Effect, rather Promises of temporal than eternal Rewards. They flattered themselves that they should at least gain over one or two, to execute a Scheme they had some Time before projected, which was as follows:

DURING the Congress at *Utrecht* for a General Peace, we had strong Expectations that we

might be included in the Treaty ; and that our Deliverance would be stipulated, among other Articles. We knew that the Protestant Powers greatly interested themselves in our Favour ; but soon all these pleasing Hopes were frustrated, by the Conclusion of the Treaty, in which no Mention was made of us.

THUS expecting nothing from Man, we relied solely upon God, and resigned ourselves up to his Direction. The Missionaries thought no Time more proper to strike the meditated Blow than when thus in Despair of the Assistance of our Friends, we might be apt gladly to catch at at the Assistance which they were pleased to offer.

WE were ignorant of what passed at *London* in our Favour ; but the Missionaries, who were informed of all, had Advice that Queen *Anne* was strongly solicited to employ her Interest with the King of *France* for our Deliverance. Their Knowledge of the State of Affairs, with respect to *France* and *England*, convinced them, that if the Queen made this Request, the King could not refuse to grant it. This made them
take

take a Resolution of endeavouring to persuade his Majesty, that all the Reformed would soon be converted to the Church of *Rome*; which would be a sufficient Answer from the *French* Court to the Queen's Solicitations. But our scheming Fathers were not able to entice one single Protestant to a change, though they had Occasion for a few Converts to put their Designs into Execution. What was to be done in this Dilemma? They solicited two Galley Slaves, who had been condemned, one for Robbery, the other for Desertion, both Roman Catholics, and who had made Profession of that Religion for several Years after their Conviction; they solicited these, I say, to pretend that they were Protestants, and after to make their Recantation to the Church of *Rome*. The Terms of their Compliance was to be their future Freedom. A Condition so flattering soon induced these Wretches to listen to their Proposal, and it was accordingly agreed on. As we were utterly ignorant of what was in Agitation, we were surprized one *Sunday*, when Mass was saying aboard the Galley, to see these two Slaves

abovementioned separate themselves from the rest, and sit wrapped up in their great Coats like the other Protestants aboard, affirming that they were of the reformed Religion. This Toleration is allowed the Protestants; and perhaps the Reader desires to know the Origin of such an Indulgence, which seems so contradictory to the Spirit of Persecution and Priestcraft which prevails at *Marseilles*, and seems to degrade from the Reverence which is paid the Sacrament, particularly by the Jesuit Missionaries.

AFTER the Peace of *Ryswick*, the Missionaries undertook to force the Protestant Slaves, while Mass was saying, to kneel with their Heads uncovered, and observe the same Posture of Devotion with the Roman Catholicks. To succeed in this, they found no great Trouble in bringing over to their Interests Mr. *Bonbelle*, Major General of the Gallies, a Man possessed of all the Spirit of inquisitorial Persecution. It was resolved between them, that every one of the Reformed should undergo the Bastinado till he should comply, and promise to kneel while Mass was saying. To make all more sure, and more methodical,

thodical, it was also determined that the Major should begin the first Day with one of the Gallies, the next with another, and so on till all were gone through ; and then he was to renew the Punishment till he forced a Compliance, or till the Slave should expire under the Lash. *Bon-belle* begun this bloody Business, and executed his Commands without Mercy.

His brutal Manner of exhorting them to a Compliance is remarkable enough. *Dog* (he used to say) *fall on your Knees, and in this Posture if you won't pray to God—pray to the Devil if you will, for what I care.* All who were thus inhumanly treated persisted in their courageous Resolution without shrinking ; and while the Executioner was mangling their Bodies, seemed with unfeeling Serenity to give their Maker Praise for this Trial of their Constancy.

WHILE Things were proceeding in this Manner, the Ambassadors of the Protestant Powers who resided at the Court of *France*, were informed of the Miseries of the reformed at *Marseilles*. Struck with such Instances of Cruelty, they represented it to his most Christian Majesty,

as the highest Injustice to punish Men anew for professing the reformed Religion who were already condemned to the Gallies for no other Crime. The King confessed it, and declared that these Violences had been inflicted without his Orders. He dispatched a Courier immediately to *Marseilles*, to prohibit any further Persecution; and with Commands to have the Grievances of the Protestant Slaves redressed. But all that was done to this effect, was an acknowledgment from the Missioners, that their Excesses were ill advised, and they were sorry for having committed them. But to proceed :

THE two unhappy Slaves whom the Missioners had bribed to a Pretence of being Protestants, lay on their Seats, as they saw the rest of us behave on similar Occasions. The Comite, who was also in the Secret, going about as usual to observe that all behaved with Decency, stopped before their Seat, and demanded why they did not join in public Worship? Our two Gentlemen swore they would no longer join in Popish Idolatry, for they were true Protestants, as also were their Fathers before them. The Comites (for this

this was transacted on board two different Gallies) apprized the Almoners. These last came with great Formality, and exhorted them to return into the Pale of the Church. They at first pretended some Reluctance, but soon comply'd, and seemed converted by the Arguments brought in favour of Popery. We readily perceived all this to be a Trick of the Missioners, but were at a loss what End it could answer. This we could not dive into, 'till these Gentlemen themselves thought proper to explain it some Days after.

THE two false *Huguenots* having publicly abjured, received, a few Days after, their Liberty, as a Recompence for their Compliance. The Day of their Deliverance being come, Father *Garcin* and the rest went from Galley to Galley, declaring the King's Indulgence, and their own Affiduity in obtaining the Freedom of the Converted. The grand *Real*, in which there were forty *Huguenots*, you may imagine was not left unvisited. They ordered the Keeper to unchain us all, and send us to them into the Cabbin. We were soon introduced, and after some fulsome Civilities which these Gentlemen generally have at Command,

Command, they began their Harangue to this Purpose. You know, Gentlemen, what Pains we have taken, and what Methods employed for your Conversion. We have privately advised, and publicly exhorted without reaping the least Advantage from our Diligence. But as God dispenses his Grace to whom, and in what Manner it pleases him, two of your Fraternity have been at last converted, and have with great Zeal publicly abjured their Errors. As we are convinced nothing can please his Majesty more than the Conversion of his Subjects, so we thought proper to inform him of our Success; and this which you shall now read is the Purport of his Majesty's Pleasure. So saying, one of them drew out a Letter from Mr. *Portchartrain*, Minister of State, which imported that his Majesty was highly pleased to hear of two such notable Hereticks being brought back to the Bosom of the Church, and that he was in Hopes they would be able to make good their Assurances of converting in like Manner all the rest. If accordingly any of them were found to follow so good an Example, his Majesty not only

only promised them their Freedom, but also his Royal Favour upon Application.

WE readily perceived by this, that the Missioners had endeavoured to persuade his Majesty that these were Chiefs of the rest of the Reformed, whose Example had influenced them to former Obstinacy, and would now influence in like Manner to future Obedience. And that Solicitations in our Favour would now be useless, as we should soon all be converted, and consequently that Way obtain our Freedom. What Impudence and Imposture! Impudence to vouch a Falseness, in which they must soon be detected; Imposture in assuming a Skill at Conversion, which they only supported by Falseness. But what will not Men do, who have, if I may be allowed the Expression, schooled away every Principle; who subtilize upon the commonest Duties until they no longer appear binding? Lies, Hypocrisy, Cruelty, take with them the Names of Virtue, if exercised in (what they imagine the Cause of Virtue) the Destruction of Heresy. All Frauds with them may be used to circumvent an Enemy; and all Men are Enemies who happen

pen to differ from them in Opinion. Bred up in all the unfeeling Apathy of a monastic Life, they have neither Joy nor Distress among themselves, and consequently are seldom elated with the Good, or depressed with the Calamities of others. Thus they praise the Happy without being sincere, and punish the Miserable without feeling the Distress they inflict. By Study they freeze every Sentiment of Humanity, and at last become mere Man-haters, because themselves are actually miserable.

AFTER this Letter was read, Father *Garcin* harangued us with some Eloquence; extolling the Goodness of the King, who was not only solicitous for the eternal Good of his Subjects, but desirous of their prospering also in this Life, of which this Letter was a sufficient Indication. He then enlarged on the Kindness and Clemency of the Church of *Rome*, which, like its Founder, used only Persuasion and Clemency to make Proselytes. Attribute not to us, continued the Friar, a Spirit of Persecution; far be it from us to harbour a Spirit so detestable and repugnant to the Rules of the Gospel. Return, the Church invites,

vites, but not forces you to her Bosom; the King solicits, and the Truth from our Lips all persuade you to return.

HAVING finished his Oration, one of our Fraternity answered, that we were truly sensible of his Majesty's Tenderneſs, and kind Concern for our Welfare. As for our Duty, his Majesty might depend upon it, in whatever State Fortune was pleased to fix us. But as to our Faith, that was a Duty due to the King of Kings; and we muſt, it was impoſſible not to diſobey. Our Belief was almoſt involuntary, and we were determined our Tongues ſhould never give our Sentiments the lie.

HERE Father *Garcin* determined the Conference, ſaying that each might reflect upon the Offers of his Majesty, and if wiſe, profit by accepting them. We now left the Chamber, the Jeſuits continuing in it ſome Time after we were gone, apparently waiting to try if any would return and own themſelves convinced. The Keepers proceeded to chain us to our Seats; but as there were forty of us, and this Buſineſs of chaining took up at leaſt an Hour, I entered into Converſation with three of my fellow

low

low Protestants till our Turn to be chained came on.

I LET them know that I knew not how to contain the Indignation I felt at the false Assertion of Father *Garcin*, in saying we were not persecuted for Religion. My Companions more prudent than I, represented it as better to listen without replying to such Falsehoods, than draw down the Malice of a Set of Men, whose Kindness was but Art, and Compassion but meditated Cruelty.

GENTLEMEN, reply'd I, we have already suffered so much, that no new Misfortune can much afflict us; we are too well used to Calamity now to fear its Rage; and the Constancy which Heaven has been pleased to grant hitherto will still make us a Match for the Cruelty of our Enemies. In short, I'm resolved to go back to the Cabbin where the Jesuits are, and unload my Heart in your Presence. I shall support the whole Argument, and be assured no Expression either of Anger or ill Manners shall drop from me, to give them a Pretext of using us ill. They acquiesced, and we accordingly entered the Chamber where those Fathers were still in Conference together.

As

As soon as they saw us enter they assumed an Air of Pleasure, which was, I suppose, inspired by a Persuasion that we returned to confess ourselves their Profelytes. They saluted us with the utmost Civility, bidding us sit down; no little Honour done to a Galley Slave. As I promised to speak, I was the first who returned an Answer to Father *Garcin*, who asked if we had reflected on the King's generous Offers, and the Truths that had been lately delivered. Father, said I, we are fully convinced of his Majesty's Bounty and Sincerity, and only a few Scruples remain, of which we desire an Explanation. I assumed while I spoke thus, I must confess, an hypocritical Air; by which I would seem to intimate that we only returned with a Design of capitulating. I had the Pleasure of seeing them, unsuspecting my Design, and greedily catching at the seeming Victory. I proceeded then, without minding the Fears of my Companions in an apparent Acquiescence, in the Truth of all their Assertions, and at last artfully led them to acknowledge that we suffered Persecution, in the Manner following.

I INFORMED the Fathers that we had seriously reflected on what had passed, but that still an Obstacle stood in the Way to our Conversion, which I hoped might be removed. This, cries *Garcin* in Raptures, this is acting like Men; propose your Scruples and you shall quickly be satisfied. I can assure you, Sir, reply'd I, that I have been instructed very carefully by my Parents in the Principles of the reformed Religion; and I must aver that nothing serves so much to confirm me in those Principles, as thinking that I am persecuted for adhering to them. For when I consider that Christ, the Apostles, and several other faithful Adherers to Christianity have suffered Persecution, I can't help thinking myself in the right Way; for methinks that in this one Thing at least I imitate them. Therefore, Sir, if you can demonstrate that we are not persecuted, as you just now affirmed, I shall confess myself your Proselyte. I'm pleased, reply'd the Jesuit, that you so candidly propose your Doubts; and more so, because it is so easy a Task to resolve them. First do you know what Persecution is? Alas! Sir, can I be ignorant of it? though I should strive to forget,

forget, would not these Chains serve to remind me? You certainly mistake, returned he, and call Punishment Persecution; but you shall soon be convinced of what I say. Why are you confined to the Galleys; and what were the Motives that induced the Court to pass your Sentence? I answered that being persecuted at home, I endeavoured to find an Asylum abroad, where I might openly avow my Principles; but was arrested on the Frontiers of *France*, and so condemned to the Galleys. Just as I was saying, reply'd the Father; you do not know what the Word Persecution imports. Persecution in Religion is, when a Person is used severely with a View of making him renounce the Principles of which he makes Profession. But in your Case Religion has no Part; for the King having ordered all his Subjects not to quit the Kingdom without his Permission; you disobeyed those Orders, and therefore are justly punished for Disobedience. Your Crime is of a political, not a religious Nature. He then addressed himself to another of my Companions, to know the Cause of his being confined to the Galleys, which was
answered

answered for his having frequented an Assembly.

THE King, says Father *Garcin*, has forbid any assembling to worship God, except in Churches; you also have disobeyed, and are consequently punished. Another of my Companions reply'd, that upon the Point of Death professing himself a Protestant, when he happened to recover, he was sentenced to to the Gallies. Still a Disobedience to the King's Orders, reply'd the Jesuit: It is his Majesty's Will that all his Subjects should live and die in the Catholic Faith: this you refused to do; and the King has been obliged to enforce his Commands by Punishment. No, Gentlemen, the Church has nothing to do in this Affair; it neither drew up your Indictment, nor presided at your Trial. All was transacted without her Knowledge, and consequently without her Participation.

I FOUND I should never conquer in this Dispute without continuing my borrowed Air. I seemed pleased with his Explication, but demanded whether I might not be set at Liberty before I had made my Abjuration; after which my
other

other Doubts might be cleared up at a more convenient Season. It is impossible, reply'd the Father, to leave the Gallies till you have formally abjured. But when I have abjured, shall I then be sure of my Liberty? Upon my Priesthood you shall in less than a Fortnight be as free as I am. O Sir, now reply'd I, raising my Voice; Truth will break through every Mist that human Art would throw round it; even I, untaught, artless, and without Eloquence as I am, have drawn a Confession from you that Religion keeps me in Slavery. We shall be free, if our Sentiments change; but Slaves, if we persist in our Opinions—I was going to proceed, when at once he broke off the Debate, and in a Rage ordered the Keeper to chain up those mad Enthusiasts without Delay.

THE Treaty of *Utrecht* being concluded without any Thing stipulated in our Favours, the Marquis of *Rochgude*, a Native of *France*, and a Refugee among the Cantons of *Switzerland*, had been employed by the Cantons at the Congress at *Utrecht* to solicit in our Favour. But failing in this, he was resolved to pursue his Design still

with a Vigour surprizing for a Man of his Years and Infirmities. He went from *Utrecht* to the North, where he obtained a Letter from *Charles* the XIIth to the Queen of *England* in our Behalf; another from the King of *Denmark*, others from the King of *Prussia*, and several *German* Princes, from the Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland*, the *United Provinces*, and all the Protestant Powers of *Europe*, recommending us to the powerful Intercession of her *Britannic* Majesty. The Marquis upon this went over into *England*, and demanded Permission of my Lord, *Oxford*, to be admitted to an Audience of her Majesty. His Lordship asked what his Business might be with the Queen? I have, said the Marquis, Letters to deliver to her from all the Protestant Powers of *Europe*. Give them then to me, said my Lord; I'll take Care to deliver them, and back them with my Interest. This the Marquis refused; but his Lordship, however, procured him the Audience desired. The Queen, upon Receipt of the Letters, committed them to her Secretary of State, who had Orders to examine them, and return the proper Answer.

ABOUT a Fortnight passed over before the Marquis heard any more of this Affair. Uneasy at such Delay, and being informed that her Majesty was to walk that Day in St. *James's Park*, he was resolved to throw himself in her Way, so as to be taken Notice of.

THIS Project succeeded; for the Queen observing the old Gentleman, ordered him to be called, and said to him, Mr. *Rochegaude*, I entreat you will let those poor Creatures on board the Galleys know that they shall soon be set at Liberty. This Answer was pious, and without Equivocation. The Marquis quickly informed us of her Majesty's Answer, which again inspired us with Hope; and we gave Glory to him on high who had again interested even crown'd Heads in our Favour.

SOME Time after there came from Court an Order to the Intendant of *Marseilles*, to send up a List of all the Protestants who were on board the Galleys. This was accordingly done, and a few Days after, towards the latter End of *May*, an Order was sent down to the Intendant to deliver an hundred and thirty-six of the Protestant

Slaves, whose Names were contained in a List accompanying the Order.

IT was impossible to determine by what Policy the Court was influenced in not manumitting the whole, which amounted to upwards of three hundred who suffered for the same Cause. Whatever was the Reason, they were not delivered till about a Year after.

THE Intendant having received the above-mentioned Order, communicated it to the Missionaries, who were in the utmost Confusion; they said that the King had been deceived; and that our Deliverance would be an eternal Blot upon the Church of *Rome*. They requested the Intendant to suspend the Execution of his Orders, and to grant them fifteen Days, in which they might send an Express to Court and receive an Answer. The Intendant, who could not refuse without incurring their Hatred, granted their Request, and concealed the Order he had received from Court for delivering an hundred and thirty six Protestants.

WE were notwithstanding informed the Day after by a Domestic of the Intendant concerning our Deliverance, and he specified the Names of each

each of those who were so fortunate as to be on the List at different Times; sending us by Intervals a Bit of Paper, with a few Names wrote upon it. Thus he continued sending for three Days, during which Time I felt the utmost Anxiety, for I happened to be last upon the List, and was in short almost reduced to Despair. I had at last the Happiness to see my own Name at the Bottom, and felt a Joy that even at this Distance of Time rises to my Memory with Pleasure, and in recollecting, gives me Satisfaction. I was happy; but judge of the Affliction of those poor Creatures, who were left unnamed. Yet still they had some hopes left, for Queen *Anne* had demanded all and had obtained all; and therefore it was reasonable to expect their Turn would come at last.

WE thus continued in a State of the utmost Inquietude, between Hopes and Fears for three Weeks longer. He who shewed us the List having apprized us of the Machinations of the Jesuits to have the Order revoked, we feared their Power and knew their Falseness; we were convinced their Influence at Court was very great,

and dreaded the Consequences. We were without Rest either Day or Night, till the Express sent by the Missionaries returned; but, to the Astonishment of the good Fathers, it brought no Answer either favourable or otherwise, which convinced the Intendant, that the King desired an Obedience to his Commands. Still, however, the Missionaries did not lose all Hope, they desired eight Days more, till the Return of another Express, whom they had dispatched after the former. He also returned without any Answer. As the Order for our Deliverance was committed as a Secret to too many, it quickly took vent, and came as News to the Missionaries. This procured us another Visit from them, in which they assured us, that the News of our Deliverance was utterly false and groundless; but when the last Express returned, they appeared utterly disconcerted, and no longer concealed their Displeasure at our approaching Happiness. They demanded from the Intendant in what Manner we were to be delivered? To which he replied, that we were to have full Liberty of going where we thought proper. To this they very warmly remonstrated,

monstrated, that Heretics so atrocious as we, being suffered to spread thro' the Kingdom, would pervert not only the newly converted, but even good Catholics themselves. By this means they prevailed upon the Intendant to declare, that we should be set free only upon condition, that we left the Kingdom by Sea; upon pain of being remitted to the Gallies, if we presumed to return. This was a malignant Stroke against us, for how could we leave the Kingdom by Sea? There was no Ship in the Port to convey us to *England* or *Holland*. We were not in Circumstances to employ one to carry us away to either of these Countries. All which the Missionaries had foreseen, and thus imagined they had precluded every Resource.

It is customary when Slaves are to be delivered, to apprize them of it some Days beforehand. Accordingly, upon an appointed Day, the Keepers received an Order of the Intendant to conduct the hundred and thirty six Slaves, who were to be released, into the Arsenal of the City. When we appeared, the Intendant called us over one by one, and declared that the King granted

us our Liberty at the Solicitation of the Queen of *England*; upon condition we left the Kingdom at our own Expence. We remonstrated against this as being a very hard Condition, and almost impossible to perform, as we were to hire a Ship to convey us away. This is not my Business, returned he, but the King will not advance you a Shilling. Then Sir, answered we, let us be permitted to try if we can find a Ship for our Purpose. That is but reasonable, said the Intendant, and gave our Keepers Directions to permit our going along the Port with a Guard, in quest of a Ship, when and as often as we pleased. In the mean time the Missionaries, to throw more Obstacles in our Way, bethought them of another Project; which was, that we should declare to what Port we were bound. Their View in this was, that as they knew our Friends resided in different Parts of *Europe*, we should be consequently divided in our Councils, to which Country we should go, as each would be for sailing to that Country, in which his Friends found Refuge. Thus divided in our Designs, they concluded we should never be able to

to get off without their Permission. This Scheme succeeded no better than the preceding; for all the Protestants who had been released, being conducted aboard a Galley, where were present the Commissary of the Marine, and two Jesuites, we were ranged here expecting some new Stroke of Adversity, but not knowing what it might be. Fortunately for us, the Person who was first upon our List, had his Friends in *Geneva*. He therefore being asked whither he designed to go? replied to *Geneva*. The Person who stood next, being asked the same Question, concluding that all should make the same Reply, made the same Answer, to *Geneva*. Thus the Word went on among the rest, and we at last all cried out, to *Geneva*. The Commissary upon this, informed us, that we must then provide a Vessel to carry us to *Italy*; for as there was no going to *Geneva* by Sea, and as it was not permitted to go thro' *France*, we had no other Passage but by *Italy*; which tho' very far about, we must be obliged to undertake.

WE accordingly endeavoured to find a Ship for *Italy*, but were not so successful as we at first

imagined we should be. One Day, however, when we were almost in despair of succeeding, a Pilot of the Galley *Le Favourite*, whose Name was *Jovas*, informed one of our Brethren, with whom he had been acquainted aboard his Galley, that he had a Tartan (a slight Bark made use of in the *Mediterranean*) which could carry us from *Marseilles* to *Villa Franca*, a Port in the County of *Nice*, belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, afterwards King of *Sardinia*. From hence we might go by *Piedmont* to *Geneva*. We listened to his Proposal with Pleasure, and bargained with this Pilot at the Rate of six Livres a Head, upon supplying our own Provisions. Thus both were contented, we by being soon to be delivered, and he by being well paid for so short a Voyage; as *Villa Franca* is from *Marseilles*, not above twenty or twenty five Leagues. It was now determined to acquaint the Intendant with our having found a Ship. The Pilot and one of our Brothers went upon this Message. The Intendant appeared satisfied, and prepared to give us our Passports. We expected our long-wished-for Liberty next Day; but the Missionaries had still an Obstacle left

left to prevent us. Being informed that we had bargained for a Ship to *Villa Franca*, they again went to the Intendant, representing it as unsafe to send us to this City, because too near the Frontiers of *France*; and it was necessary, to prevent a Return into the Kingdom, that we should be sent to *Geneva* or *Leghorn*. These Gentlemen, who chose to support their Animosity to the last, knew well that this was sending us far out of the Way; the Roads also from *Italy* were more difficult to pass, and we had by this Means the *Alps* to cross, which were to us almost inaccessible, as we had in our Company, Numbers decrepid with Age, maimed with Wounds, or paralytic with Diseases. The Reader need not be informed that these Mountains cannot be passed by Carriages, and that even Mules, Animals trained up to these Precipices, can scarce pass in safety. They also knew well that we had no Desires of returning to *France*, that we had every Reason to avoid it, still bleeding as we were with the Stripes we had received from the Hands of our cruel Countrymen. The Intendant himself looked upon this as a malignant Pretext of the Missiona-

ries to continue as under their Authority. But they were powerful, and they must consequently be obeyed. He therefore let us know that our Bargain with *Jovas* could not take Place, from the Reasons already assigned. Thus were we again disconcerted, and seemingly as far from our Liberty as before. We apprized *Jovas* of this cross Accident, who was not a little severe in his Invectives against those *Brothers of the Beard*, as he termed them. The Truth is, they are hated by the Poor, and feared by the Rich. Notwithstanding *Jovas* gave us ample Consolation; for either thro' spite, or not willing to lose so good a Bargain, he told us, that our Agreement with him should still subsist, and that he would carry us for the same Price, even to the remotest Harbour in the *Mediterranean*. He entreated one of us to accompany him to the Intendant to declare this Resolution, with which that Magistrate was perfectly satisfied; inwardly pleased to be at last disengaged from so troublesome a Business. For, as we afterwards learned, he feared a Complaint from Queen *Anne*, which would ruin him at the *French Court* to all Intents and

and Purposes. He therefore assured us, we should be soon at Liberty. But the Missionaries, still expecting counter Orders from Court, took every Occasion to delay our Departure. They represented to the Intendant, that the Tartan of *Jovas* was too small to carry such a Number of Men in the Hold ; wherefore we should be obliged to stay upon Deck, and consequently might seize upon the Vessel, throw the Mariners into the Sea, and put her into what Harbour we thought proper. And that this was a Peril so evident, that they could never give their Consent to our Departure in so small a Ship ; wherefore we ought to procure Ships large enough to carry us all in the Hold. The Intendant plainly saw the Absurdity of this Pretext, but had not Courage to oppose. A new Order was issued, that we should provide a Ship, sufficient to carry us all in the Hold. *Jovas* our Pilot was again disconcerted, and sent forth, in secret, every Imprecation against his Father Confessors. He seemed now to look upon it as his Duty to give us a Passage, and protested tho' he should gain nothing, tho' he should even lose by his Agreement,

ment, he was resolved to put it into Execution. He left us in these Hopes, and went to fulfill his Determinations. The next Day he failed not to bring us good News; he had settled our Passage in such a Manner, that now, says he, the Brothers of the Beard can find nothing to object. He hired two Barks, each larger than his, each capable of containing in the Hold with ease fifty Men, while his own would carry the other thirty six. There was now another Deputation to the Intendant, who was at last resolved to hear of no new Obstacles; and therefore, to prevent every Shadow of Delay, sent his Secretary to visit the three *Tartans*, and to bring him back an Account, if they were capable of containing the Number proposed. We bribed the Secretary, and he brought back a Report in our Favour. It was at length concluded, that the Tartan of *Jovas* with thirty six Men, should leave the Harbour in two Days, and the two others carrying fifty Men each, should follow in three Days after. Things being thus disposed, the Jesuits made no farther Opposition to our Departure, except by endeavouring to intimidate
our

our Pilots. They compelled them to sign an Obligatory Compact, by which they bound themselves not to land us at *Villa Franca*; but either at *Leghorn* or *Genoa*, under a Penalty of having their Tartans confiscated, of paying a Fine of four hundred Livres, and suffering Imprisonment for what Time the Missionaries thought reasonable. At length the Jesuits ceased Persecution, they despaired of succeeding in continuing our Slavery, and in silent Spleen retired to their Convent. Father *Garcin* was so much disgusted, that he left *Marseilles*, rather than be a Spectator of a Deliverance, which so much opposed his Inclinations.

AT length the long-wished-for Hour of Liberty arrived; the seventeenth of *June*, (a Day for ever to be noted by me, as the Commencement of all the Happiness, Heaven has been pleased to bestow me here on Earth) being come, thirty six of our Society, of which Number I was one, were conducted to the Arsenal; not as usual, to hear some new Order for either a Change of Punishment, or Addition to Distress, but to be

set free from a Bondage, the most severe that Tyranny ever inflicted. The Commissary of the Marine read the Orders of the King, which were also written in our Passports. The Obligation which *Jovas* had signed, was also read to him in our Presence. This over, the Commissary ordered a Keeper who stood by, to unchain us entirely. When set free, our Passports, or Discharges, were remitted into the Hands of *Jovas*, and he was charged with our Persons. At the same Time he had Orders to take us aboard with all possible Dispatch, and sail the first Opportunity. I left the Arsenal for the first Time, for thirteen Years without Chains, and with the rest, followed the Pilot down to the Quay, where his Tartan was moored. We prepared to enter the Hold, where we were to lie upon Sand, which served for Ballast; but the Wind blew into Port, so that it was impossible to leave the Harbour, and the Sea also was so rough, that tho' the Wind had been for us, we could not have ventured out.

Our Pilot seeing us prepare to go down into the Hold, there to stay till the Weather should

should grow favourable, addressed us as follows: Do you think, Gentlemen, I can be as cruel as Missionaries, and keep you here stifling in the Hold of my little Tartan? no Sirs, I'm a Seaman, and will use you as such; you are now free, and I have no Desire to keep you confined. It is true, continues he, we cannot leave Harbour till the Wind changes, and the Lord knows when it will change. Take my Advice, go your Ways into the City, and lodge at your Ease. I do not fear your escaping; I am convinced that instead of offering to fly from me, you would esteem it a Misfortune to be left behind, in the Hands of your Enemies. I'll answer for your Return; and provided I carry you to the Port agreed on, I have nothing further to fear. Go every one about your Business, lodge where you think proper, I care not where, only be sure to observe the Weather, and when you see the Wind change to return. How strongly does the honest Bluntness of this ignorant Sailor contrast the malicious Civilities of our Book-learned Missionaries! He readily saw from the Nature of our Situation, that an Endeavour to escape would

would be the utmost Absurdity: The Jesuits saw it too; but Persecution was the Word, and they were resolved to torment us. We took the Advice of our Pilot, and dispersed ourselves among different Inns in the City. Thus we were lodged at our ease; but no Situation, however comfortable, could diminish our Inquietude at being kept in the Harbour. We still dreaded some new Machination of the Jesuits, and therefore next Morning waited upon the Commissary to inform him of the Reasons of our Delay, and to beg that he would impute our Stay to no other Cause but the Weather. The Commissary received us very graciously, and seemed very well pleased with our Conduct, adding with a good natured Air, The King, Sirs, has not given you Freedom, in order to force you to perish at Sea. Stay in Town till the Wind becomes favourable, only permit me to advise you not to go out of the Gates, and when the Weather invites put to Sea, where I heartily wish you a prosperous Voyage. This Gentleman was it seems the Son of Protestant Parents, and perhaps to this we were indebted for Part of his Kindness.

THE

THE Wind was contrary three Days, at the End of which it changed, but still continued stormy, and the Sea seemed in violent Agitation. We went, notwithstanding, to the Bark, where we found the Pilot, and asked to be put on Board. Gentlemen, says he, it is true you can leave the Harbour, but you will find it terrible Weather at Sea. We entreated him to risque it for once; and if he judged it not absolutely dangerous at Sea, we had rather be in the Hands of God than of Man. I see your Desires, replied he, to leave the Port, and I am resolved to comply with them. Come then, let us embark, and commit ourselves to Sea and the Direction of Providence.

WE took in some Provisions, and left the Port; but we had better have taken his Advice, and waited more favourable Weather. The Sea was most violently agitated; the Waves ran so high that we expected to founder every Moment; we were all sea-sick, and consequently quite dispirited. In short, our Pilot was obliged to cast Anchor before the Harbour of *Toulon* to repair his Tackling, which the Storm had

had shattered. We expected to be here safe from any future Visits from our Countrymen, as we lay off at such a Distance; but in this we were mistaken; for about five in the Evening, a Serjeant and two Soldiers belonging to the Marine of *Toulon* came with a Shallop, boarded our Tartan, and summoned the Pilot to go before the Intendant of that City, to give an Account of himself. Our Reflections on this unexpected Incident were very disagreeable; we were apprehensive lest, as our Passports imported that we should quit the Kingdom, the Intendant might think we had Designs of clandestinely entering, and in Pursuance of these Suggestions, confine us till further Orders; and if the Missionaries should be apprized of our Detention, they might accuse us, to the King, of Disobedience to his Orders, which it would be no easy Matter to exculpate. Our Pilot himself was not a little disconcerted; he took Courage, however, and with our Passports in his Hand, entered the Shallop with the Soldiers. We requested that some of our Society might be permitted to accompany him, which was readily

readily granted. I was one of four who were employed on this Occasion.

THERE was at this Time the Plague in *Constantinople*; all Ships therefore of *France*, going from one Port to another, were obliged, before they could put into Harbour, to produce a Bill of Health. Ours was made out upon leaving *Marseilles*; and, for greater Expedition, our Names not specified: It run thus: *Let thirty-six Men pass into Italy, by Order of the King, being in good Health, &c.* I desired the Pilot only to present this Bill to the Intendant, in Answer to his Demands, which I believed would be sufficiently satisfactory. He acquiesced, and accordingly, upon being asked from whence he came, where bound, and how laden, he made no other Reply but by putting his Bill of Health into the Hands of the Intendant; who seeing something mysterious and secret in his Manner, immediately conceived that we were going upon some secret Expedition, which it was not his Business to investigate. In fact, we appeared fit enough to confirm his Suspicions: We had got rid of our Slaves Habits at *Marseilles*, and
were

were equipped at a Salesman's Shop, in such a Garb as the Narrowness of our Finances obliged us to be content with for the present. Thus the Intendant strongly suspected that we were all in Disguise, which greatly added to our Importance in his Imagination. He told the Pilot, upon reading our Bill of Health, that he required no farther Testimonials ; and addressing himself to us, added, that we might repose ourselves in Town as long as we thought convenient, or consistent with his Majesty's Instructions, and he would defray our Expences. We thanked him for his Kindness, and retired very well content with the Success of so innocent a Stratagem.

OUR Pilot was prevailed upon to debark our whole Company, in order to rest in Town from the Fatigues they had suffered at Sea ; and the next Morning we returned aboard to continue our Voyage. We sailed in three Days, with very fine Weather, from *Toulon* to *Villa Franca*. This City, which lies in the County of *Nice*, out of the Dominions of *France*, belongs to the King of *Sardinia*. In this Port we dropp'd Anchor,
and

and asked our Pilot Permission to land, and lie that Night in the City, promising to return on board whenever he should be pleased to order. Gentlemen, return'd he, I very willingly comply, as I am satisfied you are too generous to abuse my Good Nature. It is certain I shall be in your Power, and you may not return, if you please; but you must be sensible that such a Conduct would absolutely undo me. We gave him the strongest Assurances to submit to his Orders, and to reembark whenever he should think proper. He believed us, and granted our Request. We landed accordingly, and took up our Lodgings in some Public Houses near the Port. The next Day, which happened to be *Sunday*, we prepared to reembark; but our Pilot said he had some Business to *Nice*, a City not above a League distant from *Villa Franca*, where, after hearing Mass, he would return to take us in. I desired to keep him Company, as I had an Inclination to see that City, which he willingly accepted, and three more of our Society joining in the same Request, we went all five together.

UPON

UPON entering *Nice*, our Pilot said he would hear Mass, and we might wait for him in the first Public House we should happen to meet. We agreed, and leaving the great Street, we went with him in quest of a Public House, which was not easy to find open, as all the Houses and Shops are shut in the Morning of this Day. Wandering thus from one Street to another, where scarce a Person was to be seen, we perceived at last a little Man approaching us. At first we took no particular Notice of him; but approaching still nearer, he accosted us very civilly, and begged we would not be displeased, if he asked from whence we came? Having informed him, that we came from *Marseilles*, he seemed to be puzzled, not daring to ask if we came from the Gallies, as such a Question is looked upon as the highest Affront. At last, recollecting himself, he again demanded if we left that City by Order of the King of *France*? Yes, Sir, replied one of us, we have just come from the Gallies. Good God! cries he, are you of that Number who have been lately delivered at the Instances of the Queen of *England*? We replied

replied in the Affirmative. Follow me, said this Stranger, who seemed transported with Joy; I esteem this Meeting as the most fortunate Accident of my whole Life. We obeyed without hesitating, as well as our Pilot, who suspected some Design against us; as he had but an indifferent Opinion of *Italian Sincerity*.

WE were now conducted to what rather seemed the Palace of a Prince, than the House of a private Man. Being introduced, and the Doors shut, this Protestant Merchant, for such he was, embraced us with Marks of unfeigned Joy; and calling his Wife and his Children, bid them testify their Happiness, at finding their poor Brothers in the Gospel at last redeemed from Slavery. Congratulations were again renewed, not without Praise to him above, who brings the Prisoner out of Captivity.

MR. *Bonijoli* now entreated we would kneel down, and join in Family Worship; where he made a Prayer the most zealous and pathetic that can be imagined; nor could many of the Family refrain from Tears on this Occasion. Even our Pilot himself testified the utmost Approbation

probation for this good Man's Piety. After Prayers we went to Breakfast, where our Entertainer being informed that there were in all thirty-six of us now at *Villa Franca*, and also being acquainted with the Accident which brought us to *Nice*, he could not sufficiently express his Satisfaction. We at last demanded who he was that gave us so kind a Reception, and how he came to accost us first in the Street? I am, returned he, a Native of *Nismes* in *Languedoc*. I fled my Country upon the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantz*, took refuge under the Duke of *Savoy*, and settled in this City; where, by the Favour of Heaven, I have acquired a Competency; and though in the whole Place there is no Protestant but myself and Family, I enjoy a perfect Tranquillity with respect to Religion. For this I am obliged to our Sovereign, now become King of *Sardinia*, who has forbid all his Subjects, as well Ecclesiastics as Laymen, to give me the least Disturbance. With respect to the other Part of your Demand, a Correspondent of mine at *Marseilles*, the Day of your Deliverance, wrote me Word; and added,

if

if Chance should conduct you hither, that I should do you all the Services in my Power.

WE now changed the Subject to the most proper Methods of continuing our Route to *Geneva*; in which there lay so many Obstacles as appeared almost insurmountable. Our Pilot produced a Copy of his Obligation, and urged our Promise to return. He might have been acquitted however, when he came back, by pleading Strefs of Weather as the Cause of his landing at *Villa Franca*; a Plea which seldom fails, if properly persisted in; but his not continuing his Voyage to *Leghorn* was a manifest Infraction of his Obligation. We were, it is true, at our Liberty of not returning with him; but our Honour and Conscience opposed a Conduct that must involve him in Ruin. On the other hand, Mr. *Bonijoli* appeared extremely alarmed for us, if we should proceed to *Leghorn* or *Genoa*. He represented the Journey from either of these Ports to *Geneva*, as troublesome to the last Degree; Mountains were to be passed over, impracticable to our old Men and the Diseased among us; our being so large a Company would encrease the Hire of

Carriages, nor would they come but at an exorbitant Price. In short, when we came there, we should have no other Method left but that which we rejected at *Marseilles*, viz. to hire a Ship to *England* or *Holland*, which would be a greater Expence than our Funds might perhaps be able to supply.

THUS we were either to break our Promise with the Pilot, or encounter all the Difficulties above recited. In short, we determined to keep our Promise, though at the Hazard of our Lives, and with fresh Assurances dispelled the Fears of the poor Pilot, who was, during our Conference, in the utmost Uneasiness, entreating us at Intervals not to put him into the Power of Men, whose Indignation he dreaded like Death. We let him know, that nothing should prevail upon us to break that Promise which we made before God and him; and that, if no Method could be contrived to exempt him utterly from Danger, we would reimbarc without Delay. This seemed to satisfy him; but we still continued looking upon each other, without being able to hit upon an Expedient for putting us both out
of

of Danger. At last Mr. *Bonijoli*, as if waked from the Reverie, cried out, that he had at last thought of something to our mutual Advantage, which he would instantly endeavour to put in Practice.

By the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the County of *Nice*, and the City of that Name, were restored to the Duke of *Savoy*, by the King of *France*; who, after the Evacuation, left a Commissary to regulate the Debts and other Affairs which were in Dispute between the Courts of *France* and *Turin*. The *French* Commissary's Name was Mr. *Carboneau*: This was a young Gentleman who, though not by Birth a *Gascon*, yet had all the Airs of one: I mean, he affected, like them, Generosity, and carried Friendship to a romantic Excess. Mr. *Bonijoli* and he were extremely intimate; for as the former was the only *Frenchman* settled at *Nice*, and as his Sons and Daughters, who had received the genteelest Education, were about the same Age with the Commissary, this young Gentleman was almost always at his House, and treated like one of the Family. It was, upon recollecting the Services this Com-

missary might be of to us, that Mr. *Bonijoli* seemed so well satisfied; and he was not out in his Conjecture; for, by his Means, all Affairs were settled to our mutual Satisfaction.

He desired the Pilot to commit the Copy of his Obligation to his Care, which, when done, he begg'd us to wait till his Return. About an Hour after his Departure, he came back with the *French* Commissary. This Gentleman, assuming an Air of the utmost Importance, asked the Pilot, with a good deal of Authority, which he seemed to derive from his Office, where he was bound, from whence he came, and what was his Lading? The Pilot having satisfied his Demands, the Commissary commanded, in the King's Name, that the whole of his Passengers should be conducted to *Nice*; forbidding him, in the most peremptory Manner, to leave the Harbour of *Villa Franca* without his Orders. The Pilot submitted, went to the last named City, and conducted the Remainder of our Society to *Nice*. Mr. *Bonijoli* received them with his usual Zeal and Tenderneſs, lodged them in different Inns at his own Expence, and gave

and gave Orders for their being treated with proper Respect. For us four, he kept us at his own House, where we were for three Days entertained with the utmost Elegance and Liberality.

ALL this Time was taken up in paying Incense to the Vanity of our Commissary. We were formally summoned to appear every Morning in the Street before his House, where he, from a Balcony, bedizen'd in an embroidered Nightgown, holding in his Hand a List of our Names, called us all one by one; asking, with an Air of Authority, from whence we came, the Names of our Parents, our Ages, and other Questions, equally insignificant and unnecessary. All this was done to give the Citizens an high Idea of his Authority; for they came in Numbers with a Curiosity usual to the Multitude, to be Spectators of this trifling Ceremony. Never did I see a Man so much pleased as he seemed to be with his own Importance; and I verily believe, of the two Parties, he was most obliged on this Occasion.

WE were apprized of his Vanity by our Friend *Bonijoli*, but were advised to bear with his imaginary Importance as the only Means of expediting our Journey. Thus then we stood in the Street every Day at least two Hours, Cap in Hand, with a submissive Air, expecting the Determination of this *little* great Man. At length having tired out the Crowd with gazing, or being himself satisfied with our Submissions, he ordered the Pilot into his Presence, and gave him a Paper to read, desiring to know if he was satisfied with the Contents.

IT was sufficiently authentic, being sealed with the Arms of *France*, and beginning with the usual Preamble, by Order of the *King's most excellent Majesty*, &c. It imported that he, the King's Commissary, having received Intelligence that a *French Tartan* had been chased by a *Barbary Cor-fair* into the Harbour of *Villa Franca*, and upon farther Enquiry, having found that the said *Tartan* was of *Marseilles*, with thirty-six Passengers delivered from the Galleys and bound to *Italy*; and having visited the Ship and the Men, and having found them utterly destitute of Provisions, &c.

fions, &c. Upon these Considerations, He, the Commissary, ever attentive to the Welfare of his Majesty's Subjects, ordered the Pilot of the said *Tartan* to permit his Passengers to land at *Villa Franca*, from thence to pursue their Journey to *Geneva*, the Place of their Destination: Notwithstanding any Obligation signed by the said Pilot at *Marseilles* to the contrary.

Jovas was entirely satisfied with this Indemnification, and promised to lay on the Commissary all the Blame of his not proceeding, if he should be called to an Account. Thus he saw himself freed from a tedious Voyage, and his Money earned with Ease. He therefore departed for *Marseilles*; and when he took Leave, promised to speak to the other two Barks, which he should meet in his Voyage back, to put into *Villa Franca*, to receive the same Treatment from the good-natured Commissary, who had invented so many Pretexts to be of Service to us both.

THE Consequences proved him as good as his Word, for these two Vessels soon arrived at *Villa Franca*, and pursuing the same Plan with us, suc-

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ceeded; by which Means the whole hundred and thirty-six came by the same Route to *Geneva*.

AFTER the Departure of the Pilot, Mr. *Bonijoli* prepared to furnish every Thing necessary for our Journey to *Geneva*. He hired Mules and Horses sufficient for thirty-six, (the Number of our Company) which were to carry us to *Turin* with a Guide, all at his own Expence. We accordingly left *Nice* on the beginning of *July*, every one separately mounted. Our old Men gave us however some Trouble, as they were unable to sit on Horseback. In our Way we traversed not without much Fatigue several vast Mountains, particularly one called *Tende*, so high that its Top seems lost in Clouds; and though it was in the middle of Summer, though in the Valley we were panting with Heat, yet at the Summit of the Mountain the Cold was so excessive, that we were obliged to alight and go on Foot, in order to keep ourselves warm. The Snow seldom melts here, but lies on the Ground to a prodigious Depth. Yet notwithstanding all this, there is no great Difficulty in ascending the Declivity, as
there

there is a Way very commodious cut, *Zigzag* Fashion, on the Mountain's Side, so that you rise by an easy Ascent of three Leagues, without perceiving it so steep as it is in reality. We descended on the other Side into the Plain of *Piedmont*, one of the most beautiful Countries in the World. I shall not stop to describe the Towns or Cities through which we passed; they are in this Country very numerous, and the Names of most of them have escaped my Memory: be it sufficient to say that we at last arrived at *Turin*, the Capital of *Piedmont*, and the Residence of his *Sardinian* Majesty. We took up our temporary Residence in the Inns of the City, and next Morning were visited by Numbers of *French* Protestants who reside here, and go into the neighbouring Cantons of *Switzerland*, to hear divine Service. These Gentlemen, whom Mr. *Bonijoli* had apprized of our Arrival, received us with Affection and Zeal. They defrayed our Expences the three Days we staid in the City; at the End of which having hired Carriages, we went to wait on his *Sardinian* Majesty to get Passports to *Geneva*.

Victor Amadeus, then King of *Sardinia*, desired some of us to wait on him in Person. Six of us were admitted to an Audience. The Ambassadors of *England* and *Holland* were there. His Majesty gave us a favourable Reception, and asked several Questions, which continued half an Hour; as how long we had been in the Gallies, the Cause of our Condemnation, and the Hardships we had endured? After we had succinctly answered his Questions, the King turning to the Ambassadors who stood by, These Men, said he, know what it is to suffer. He again demanded if we had Money to defray our Journey? We reply'd that we were not over provided; but that our Brother Protestants, particularly Mr. *Bonijoli* of *Nice*, had Charity enough to support us to *Turin*, and our Friends at *Turin* were preparing to do the same to *Geneva*. We were advised to make his Majesty this Answer; on which he assured us of his Protection; adding, that we might stay at *Turin* as long as we thought proper; and upon going, apply to the Secretary, who should have Orders to prepare our Passport. We said, that if his Majesty was pleased to permit, we would

would depart the Day following ; upon which he ordered the Secretary of State to draw up our Passport without Delay. This not only gave us a safe Conduct through his Dominions, but also commanded all his Majesty's Subjects to assist us in whatever might be needful for our Journey. But we stood in no Need of such Assistance, Thanks to Heaven ; for our charitable Friends at *Turin* subsisted us to *Geneva*. There was at the same Time with us at *Turin* a young Man, by Trade a Watchmaker, and a Native of *Geneva*. As he had Occasion to return home, he desired Permission to keep us Company. He went with us on Foot till we came within two Days Journey of *Geneva*, where he left us, saying he knew a Way for Foot Passengers which would shorten the Road one Day's Journey. He arrived in effect at *Geneva* a Day before us, where he apprized the venerable Magistrate of that City of our Approach.

THE next Day, which happened on *Sunday*, we arrived at a little Village situated upon a Mountain about a League from *Geneva*, from whence we could perceive this City with Joy that
can,

can be only compared to that of the *Israelites* upon beholding the Land of *Canaan*. It was about Twelve o'Clock when we arrived at this Village, and we were resolved to pursue our Journey without halting to dine; so great was our Ardour to be in a Place which we regarded as our *Jerusalem*. But our Guide gave us to understand that the Gates were not opened on *Sundays* till after Divine Service, which was never concluded till four o'Clock. We were therefore obliged to alter our Resolutions, and stay in the Village till about the Time of opening the Gates of the City. At four we were again on Horseback, and proceeded. As we approached we could perceive Crowds of People coming out of the Town, Our Guide was surprized; but much more so, when coming into a Place called the *Plein Palais*, about a quarter of a League from the City, he saw three Coaches attended by Halbertiers, and followed behind by a vast Multitude of every Sex and Age, approaching us. As soon as we were perceived by them, a Servant of one of the Magistrates advanced before the rest, and entreated

treated us to alight and receive with proper Respect their Excellencies the Magistrates of Geneva, who came to meet us, and congratulate our Arrival. By the Time we had alighted, the three Coaches were come up, and a Magistrate and a Minister came from each, who embraced us with Respect and Tenderness, praised our Constancy, and loaded us with greater Marks of Honour and Friendship than our Actions had merited. Our Answers upon this Occasion were rather directed to Heaven than them; we gave Praise to God for thus crowning the concluding Period of a Life of Distress with Happiness; we implored every Blessing on them who thus generously and publicly rewarded any Marks of Zeal we had shewn in his Service. When the Magistrates had given us a Welcome with all due Formality, the Scene became much more interesting, several of the Inhabitants of Geneva had Relations aboard the Galleys. When the Magistrates gave Permission, they came up to us in all the Anxiety of Hope and Fear, to seek their long lost Friends.

NOTHING

NOTHING was heard at first but a Confusion of Voices, and a little after more articulately; My Child, my Husband, my Brother, once more to behold thee! In short, the Transports of some were inexpressible; and even those who had no Ties of Blood to endear our Arrival, were extremely happy at seeing us, and testified it by every Token of Joy and Esteem. This continued some Time, till their Excellencies gave us Orders to mount our Horses and enter the Town. We with some Reluctance disengaged ourselves from those pious People, who still held as if loath again to lose Sight of us.

At length we followed their Excellencies, who conducted us into the City in a kind of Triumph; Joy all around us, Acclamations from every Quarter! The Governors honouring us with their Presence, our Fatigues at an End, and Liberty for Life of serving God as he himself directs. How different this from the Cavalcades to which we had been before so often accustomed! loaded with Chains, insulted by the Populace, famishing with Hunger, holding out our wooden Cups, but in vain to the surly Peasant for a Drop of Water; fatigued

fatigued with long Marches by Day, reposing on the damp Floors of a Prison by Night. Glory to God on high, who chastises but to amend, who inflicts but to make happy!

THERE was lately built at *Geneva* a magnificent Hospital for Citizens fallen to Decay. It was just finished and furnished, but as yet had admitted none. Their Excellencies thought proper that we should be the first who should lodge in it; and here we were accordingly conducted. Those who had Relations in Town went to live with them.

AMONG the rest Mr. *Bousquet*, who had been released with me, had a Mother and two Sisters who resided here. As this Gentleman was an intimate Friend of mine, he requested that I might go with him to his Mother's, which their Excellencies granted with Pleasure. This Grant induced the rest of the Citizens, as well Women as Men, to petition for the same Favour, that they might have the Consolation of conversing with their Brethren so lately set free. In short, not one was left in the *Maison Françoise*, so was this Hospital called, but went to lodge among the Citizens.

WITH

WITH respect to myself I made no long Stay at *Geneva*, but took the Opportunity of a *Berlin* which had brought the Resident of the King of *Prussia* to *Geneva*, and was returning empty. Six more of our Company and I bargained with the Coachman to carry us to *Frankfort* on the *Main*; their Excellencies paying our Carriage, and allowing us Money to bear our Expences. Accordingly we set forward without meeting with any Occurrence worthy of Notice, till we came to *Berne* in *Switzerland*. The Grand Avoyer having receiving Advice from *Geneva* that we should pass through *Berne*, gave Orders to stop a *Berlin*, and seven Persons at the Gate of this City. Being arrived at the Gates, our Coachman was surprized to find himself stopped by the Centinel, who having called the Captain of the Guard, he examined the Coachman in *High Dutch* from whence he came? Where going? And what were his Passengers? To this last Demand he knew not what to answer; for in order to avoid the Caresses of the Protestants as we passed along, we had forbid him to tell who we were. He therefore knew not what Answer to make, and
fearing

fearing the Consequences if he should be found in a Lie, at length after a Pause, turning to us, Gentlemen, says he, I must fairly tell who you are. We readily assented, which when the Captain came to know, he ordered the Coachman to follow an Escort of a Serjeant and four Soldiers, whom he had ordered to conduct him.

THIS poor Fellow, who was a true *German*, began to suspect nothing less than Prisons or Stripes would be the Consequence; and happy would he have been, were he well off at the Loss of his Coach. He reasoned the Case, declared his Innocence, and gave the Soldiers the strongest Assurances of his Ignorance of any Fault. The Serjeant, who enjoyed his Perplexity, civilly returned, that he hoped the Affair would end without any fatal Consequences; that he knew several Coachmen who had committed Faults come off very well on such Occasions; even some were not whipped above twice for a Crime that deserved the Gallows. It was true, the present Magistrate of the City had an Aversion to Coachmen; but what of that? he hoped all would end well enough. Thus he continued comforting the Coachman till

we.

we came to an Inn in the City called *the Cock*. This is a Place where Ambassadors and other Persons of Distinction are defrayed by the State. Being alighted, we were accosted by the Secretary of State, who there expected our Arrival. He received us with all the Politeness and Humanity in his Power. He was obliged, however, to let us know his Dignity, for we should otherwise never guess it from his Appearance; neither his Dress nor Equipage testifying any thing above the common Rank. In this Country the Governors only differ from the Governed by superior Talents, and not superior Fortune. He said he was ordered to keep us Company, and defray our Expences while we staid at *Berne*.

OUR Entertainment here was truly elegant, and we had the Honour of his Company continually, except at Nights when he went home. In this Manner we spent four Days, and visited every Magistrate in the City, who were all pleased to give us the most kind Reception. We were entertained with Friendship and Esteem, we were entreated to stay and honour them with our Company, for so they were pleased to express it, for
some

some Weeks longer. We would indeed have complied with their kind Invitations, were it not for our Coachman, who was constrained to return to *Berlin* without making any Delay. At the End therefore of four Days we were obliged to take Leave; the Secretary, before our Departure, making each of us a present of twenty Rix Dollars in the Name of the Regency of *Berna*. We desired our most humble Acknowledgments might be returned their Excellencies; and setting out, we arrived at *Franckfort* without any Adventure worthy Notice. As we still kept incognito to avoid the Trouble of giving and receiving Visits in the Towns through which we must necessarily pass, our Arrival at *Franckfort* was in the Beginning of *August*. We had Recommendations from our Friends at *Geneva* to Mr. *Sarazin*, a Merchant and Elder of the Church of *Bokenen*, about a League from *Franckfort*. The Assembly of which this reformed Church is composed, live at *Franckfort*, but come here to hear Prayers and Sermons. We arrived on *Saturday*, the Day of Preparation for the Sacrament. We waited upon Mr. *Sarazin*, who expected us, and soon after we
were

were joined by the Members of the *French* and *German* Consistory. Their Reception was like that which we had so often received from the rest of our Brethren, pious and friendly. They carried us in Coaches to *Bokenen*, to hear a Preparation Sermon, preached by Mr. *Matthieu*, *French* Minister of that Church.

WE were entreated to communicate with them the Day following, but we excused ourselves as being unprepared; particularly I, who had never yet received the Sacrament, never having had an Opportunity. When Prayers were over, we returned to *Franckfort*, with Mr. *Sarazin*, who had prepared for us at his House a magnificent Entertainment. We returned next Day to *Bokenen*, where we were introduced into the Consistorial Chamber, behind the Church, where was provided a frugal Repast for us, and the other Members of this Society. We were strongly solicited to stay a few Days longer at *Franckfort*; but we begged to be excused, as we were resolved to be at *Holland*, as soon as we conveniently could. The Care of providing for our Journey, and defraying our Expences, was deputed

deputed to Mr. *Sarazin*, who acquitted himself with Zeal and Generosity. He hired us a Boat covered with a Canvas Tent, and rowed by two Men, to carry us down to *Cologne*. All necessary Provisions were supplied, and the Boat-Men had Orders to land every Night at Places, where convenient Lodging and Refreshments were to be found. But above all, he desired they would keep on that Side of the River, which belonged to the Empire, and where their Army was stationed along its Banks. As the *French* Army, at that Time besieging *Landau*, was on the opposite Side, we had no small Fears lest we should fall into their Hands. Mr. *Sarazin*, before we embarked, brought us to the Town-house, to get a Passport from the Magistracy of *Franckfort*. Here, as they are *Lutherans*, we were again loaded with Caresses and Congratulations for our Deliverance. They carried their Compliments so far as to say, that we were like the Disciples of Christ, *The Salt of the Earth*. When Compliments are thus exaggerated they turn to Satire. How many Sins and Infirmities had we to answer for! our Lives little more than

a continued Offence. Our Constancy, perhaps never sufficiently tried, our Comforts at last almost equalling our former Calamities; while the Propagators of our Holy Religion found no Home on Earth. The Sword was drawn against their Lives, the Tyrant threatened, and the whole World was up in Arms to receive them. But a Parallel is by no Means my Design. Our Answers to these Gentlemen sufficiently testified our Dislike of their Compliment, and we testified our own Unworthiness in the strongest Manner, at the same Time endeavouring to avoid the Appearance of affected Humility. They seemed pleased with our Answers, and after having exhorted us to be upon our Guard against good Fortune as much as we had formerly been against Adversity, they gave us our Passport, which was made out in the amplest Manner, and refused to take any of the usual Fees. Mr. *Sarazin* now conducted us to the Boat, which he had prepared, in which we embarked, testifying the most grateful Resentment of all this good Man's Favours. Our Voyage down the River was longer than we expected; for as we were obliged
always

always to be on that Side where the Army of the Empire was stationed, we were stopped at every Post where there was a Guard kept, in order to have our Passports examined. We were even sometimes threatened by the *French* on the opposite Side; but this had no other Effect than sometimes throwing us into a Panic. From our Departure from *Franckfort* to our Arrival at *Cologne*, was eight Days. At the last City we sold our Boat, and after a Day's Delay, which was employed in visiting some Protestants, to whom we were recommended by Mr. *Sarazin*, who gave us a kind Reception, we set out for *Dort*, in the ordinary *Passage Boat* from *Cologne* to that City. We made no stay at *Dort*, but went on to *Ratterdam*, where upon our Arrival, we were received with the utmost Demonstrations of Joy, by both the *French Refugees* and *Hollanders*. We remained here two Days, our Expences still defrayed. At last we terminated this Journey by our Arrival at *Amsterdam*. Were I to recount all the Civilities we received in this great City, I should never have done; in fact such Accounts are too insipid

insipid to be entertaining. How pleasing soever the Remembrance of such Passages must be to the Author, the Recital can give no great Share of Amusement to his Reader. We went in a Body to the Consistory of the *Walloon* Church, to return our Thanks for their kind Contributions to us in Slavery; and had an Assurance from this charitable Consistory, that their Contributions should not be discontinued with our Freedom. They after this nominated two of their Members to present us to the *Dutch* Consistory, who were expressly assembled upon this Occasion. Their Reception alone might have made ample Amends for many of the Hardships we had formerly suffered; but as I have promised my Reader not to enlarge upon these Particulars, let it suffice to say, that this venerable Body gave the Thanks of the Assembly to their Brothers of the *Walloon* Consistory for their Kindness in introducing us to theirs.

WE remained in this Town three or four Weeks unemployed, as it was impossible to think of fixing, while our Friends were so importunate in their Careless. Still some new Tie endeared

us more than before. A Knowledge of Family, former Persecutions, Affinity, and above all a Similitude of Sentiments, added Spirit to our Conversations, and every Day afforded new Matter of Entertainment. Notwithstanding, I at last began to think of employing myself in something useful, when the Members of the *Walloon* Church proposed to me to be one of the Deputies, which they had resolved to send into *England*, for two Ends: First, to thank her *Britannic* Majesty for our Deliverance, and secondly to add some Weight to the Solicitations which were making in favour of those who were still in Slavery. The Reader may judge if I could resist such a Proposal. I departed then for *London* with two Companions, and soon the Number of Deputies was encreased to twelve, all of which had been Slaves in the Gallies. The Marquisses of *Miremont*, and *Rochegude*, introduced us into the Royal Presence, and we were admitted to the Honour of Kissing her Majesty's Hand. The Marquis of *Miremont* made her Majesty a short but pathetic Harangue, on her Zeal in soliciting our Liberty and her Power in procuring

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it. He insisted upon the determined Hatred of our Enemies, who were resolved to make our Calamities only end with our Lives; and who, tho' they seemed to comply with the whole of her Royal Request, had yet granted it but in Part. Her Majesty with her own Mouth assured us of the Satisfaction she took in our Deliverance, and the Concern she would take in seeing that her Request should be complied with in the amplest Manner. Upon this gracious Answer we retired.

THE Marquis of *Rochegude*, who was a thorough Politician, and understood Courts perfectly well, conceived it proper to present us to the Duke *d'Aumont*, at that Time French Ambassador to the Court of *Great-Britain*. But being desirous that his Excellence should rather be pleased than disgusted at our Addresses, he went first to pay him his Respects in private. He informed the Ambassador of our Deputation, the Occasion, and added that they were desirous (being twelve in Number) of waiting upon his Excellency, but were apprehensive of giving Disgust. The Marquis judged this Step necessary

fary towards the Deliverance of those who still remained in Slavery. The Ambassador testified a great Curiosity to see us, and desired the Marquis to introduce us the next Day, which he did not fail of performing. His Excellency received us very graciously, giving each of us his Hand, and congratulating us upon our Deliverance. He demanded how long each of us had suffered, and upon what Occasion condemned? We each made separate Answers to his Demands, as our Circumstances respectively differed. We complimented his Excellency upon his Condescension in admitting us to Audience, we thanked him as Representative of his most Christian Majesty for our Liberty, and besought him to have pity on our Companions in suffering, who were still kept in Slavery. We entreated his Intervention between us and his Master, declared the Hardships they laboured under, particularly in being punished more severely, tho' no way more criminal than we. That they were implied as well as we, in the Queen of *England's* Request, and his Majesty's Compliance was equally general. Notwithstanding

all this, there were delivered but an hundred and thirty, while more than two hundred still remained in Durance. His Excellency appeared embarrassed by the Conduct of his Court, and said he could assign no other Reason for such Distinctions, but that those who remained had committed other Crimes, for which it was but reasonable they should suffer. We each of us protested the contrary, and adduced the most convincing Proofs to support our Assertions. I was perhaps more warm in their Defence, than became my Inexperience: I entreated his Excellency's Attention to a particular Instance I was about to relate, which I imagined would disperse any Suspicions he might conceive of some of our suffering Society, being more guilty than others.

THOUGH I was the youngest of the whole Deputation, his Excellency so politely encouraged me to speak, that I put on an Assurance which I should never be able to summon, had he frowned upon my Request. I succinctly related the Cause which made me attempt to quit the Kingdom. I related my Connections of
Friendship

Friendship with *Daniel Le Gras*, and the Circumstances of our being arrested at *Mariemburgh*, and both condemned by the same Sentence to the Gallies for Life. Our Crime was the same, our Expectations of Mercy the same; yet I was delivered, and my Friend and Companion still remained a Slave. The Ambassador seemed convinced by this Instance, and requested I would give it to him in Writing; which, when done, he seemed to lay all the Blame of this Oversight, as he termed it, on the Minister for Marine Affairs. Afterwards, addressing himself to the Marquis of *Rochegude*, he thanked him for his Care in introducing us; and added, that we had convinced him, by the Lights we had thrown on the Affair, that there lay Injustice somewhere, but that he would write to the Court of *France* to remedy the Abuse. And as a Proof that I intend to do what I say, continues the Ambassador, addressing the Marquis of *Rochegude*, if you, Sir, will only take the Trouble to be here To-morrow Morning, when the Post goes out for *France*, I will have the Letter in Readiness, which shall be read and sealed in

your Presence, and which you may, if you please, leave in the Post-Office. Yes, continued he, I shall redress their Grievances as far as is consistent with my delegated Authority. And then turning towards his Secretary, the Abbé *Nadal*, We must endeavour to serve those Men, says he, whose Faults are rather the Result of Prejudice than Obstinacy. The Abbé replied only by an Inclination of his Head; and his Conduct afterwards sufficiently evinced, that he did not concur with his Master in his favourable Sentiments of us: for the next Morning, upon the Marquis of *Rochegude's* going to receive the Letter as desired, his Excellency received him very graciously, saying that he had remembered his Promise, and that the Letter was ready; but desiring the Abbé *Nadal* to bring it, this Gentleman pretended not to understand what Letter he referred to: His Excellency was therefore obliged to repeat his Injunctions; I mean, says he, the Letter I have wrote in favour of the *Professors* condemned to the Gallies. This Title of *Professor* gave the Abbé fresh Disgust; but as he saw the Ambassador peremptory,

tory, he coolly replied, he believed the Letter might still lie upon the Desk. Deliver it then to this Gentleman, said the Ambassador. The Abbé, before he obey'd, begged to speak a Word to his Excellence in private : wherefore, after taking him aside, something was insinuated which made the Ambassador change his Resolution ; and addressing himself to the Marquis of *Rochegude*, My Secretary reminds me of some Particulars in my Letter, which do not relate to the Affair in hand ; wherefore I must entreat you will pardon my being obliged to dispense with my Promise. But, added he, you may depend upon my doing you all the Service I am able.

THE Marquis easily perceived that the Abbé *Nadal* had been no Friend in this Affair ; but whether the Ambassador kept his Promise, or not, our Brethren were not delivered till a Year after, at the renewed Remonstrances of her *Britannic Majesty*.

The former Anecdote may appear trifling to many ; but my Reason for inserting it was, to shew how the Priests alone still pursued us with

Hatred. This *Nadal* was an Ecclesiastic, he was an Almoner, and at the same Time Secretary to an Embassy. The Ambassador's Moderation cannot be sufficiently applauded ; but his Easiness in suffering himself to be led by a Man bred up in the narrow Prejudices of a Popish Seminary, was certainly culpable. But this Priest's Power did not extend to his Master alone, but to his Master's whole Household ; who, to ingratiate themselves with the Favourite, failed not to insult us whenever an Opportunity offered : The very Churches could not protect us from their misguided Resentment.

ONE Sunday Morning, as Mr. *Armand du Bordieu*, Minister of the *Savoy*, was in the midst of his Sermon, one of the Duke *d'Aumont's* Household had the Assurance to cry out, *You lie*. It was well he escaped as soon as he did ; for otherwise he would have been torn in Pieces by the Populace, who are no where so furious, when provoked, as here.

ANOTHER Instance, of which I myself was a Witness, was as follows : One of this Ambassador's Domestics, in a *French* Coffee-House near
the

the *Royal Exchange*, had launched out in In-
vective against the Refugees. One standing by,
having cautioned him to be more circumspect
in a Land of Liberty, and where Persecution
was not admitted, he instantly took Fire, and
in a passionate Manner cried out, *Yes, Sirs, the
King of France has a long Arm, and I hope will
arrest such Traitors to their Country, though they
have taken Refuge out of his Dominions.*

A MERCHANT of *London*, a Refugee, whose
Name was *Banal*, a Man of Probity and Reli-
gion, who had calmly heard the former Part of
his Discourse, was resolved to interrupt his Im-
pertinencies; and giving him a stunning Box on
the Ear, This Arm however, cried he, is long
enough to punish your Insolence; nor do I fear your
Master can punish mine. The other was going
to lay his Hand on his Sword, but the whole
Company present prevented his Design, and
drubbed him heartily: They were even going
to throw him out of a one Pair of Stairs Win-
dow, had not the Woman of the House come
to his Assistance, who begged him off. As soon
as he was at Liberty, he immediately preferred

his Complaint to the Ambassador, who far from engaging in his Cause, disapproved his Conduct, and gave his Domestics special Orders to insult none in Expectation of his Protection. It is certain his Christian Majesty himself would have been displeased with these Instances of misplaced Loyalty, those Battles of the Tongue, and would have punished them too; but not his Majesty nor the Ambassador were the Persons whom these Insults were calculated to gratify, but a few Ecclesiastics, who took Pleasure in prosecuting their Resentment, though in Threats without Power, and railing without Effect.

AFTER a Residence of two Months and an half in *London*, and having nothing to detain me there longer, I left it in the Month of *December* with the Marquis of *Rochegude's* Approbation. Part of our Deputation remained behind to solicit the Release of our Brothers in the Gospel, who were still detained in Bondage. I arrived at the *Hague* to make a Report of our Transactions in *England*; not without testifying my Gratitude to several worthy Members of that glorious Community; whose Charity, public and private, as
much

much exceeds, as their Wealth is greater than that of all other Nations.

I STAYED some Weeks at the *Hague*, where I was introduced by Mr. *Bafnage* to several of the Magistrates of this flourishing Republic. This Minister solicited a Pension for us, which their High Mightinesses granted soon after; a Charity, which though we had not Merit to deserve, our helpless Situation seemed to demand; as by a long Course of Servitude we were almost all rendered unfit for other Employments. A Charity of which I shall ever preserve the most grateful Remembrance, and my Prayers, however unworthy, shall still be offered for my Benefactors. And here let me finish my History, as the other Parts of my Life have nothing remarkable, either to interest or improve the Reader.

THE Year 1713 was the Period, at which in the Beginning of this Memoir I promised to conclude. I am equally sensible of my own Inabilities as an Historian, as of the Want of Importance in my Subject to deserve that Title: But if there is any Nation whom Heaven has blessed with Freedom, they may learn to value the Blessing, by reflecting on the

the Persecutions to which I was exposed, by the arbitrary Will of a Tyrant. If there be any whom Virtue loads with Calamity, they may learn from my Example to take Comfort, for Heaven will surely at last reward its Votaries.

MAY true Religion and true Liberty be diffused through the World, till all Nations become virtuous and happy. Private Calamity will not then afflict the good Man; for as he cannot enjoy temporal Felicity in a Nation of SLAVES, so he cannot be miserable, while the rest of his fellow Creatures are free from Distress.

*The Description of a GALLEY, &c.**

A Galley is ordinarily an hundred and fifty Feet long, and forty broad; it has but one Deck, and its Hold is divided into six Apart-

* For a more particular Description of the Construction of a Galley, we must refer the Reader to Vol. I. Page 105, where the Translator has ventured to transpose a Part of the above Description in the Original, as several Terms occur in the Course of the History, which it was necessary the Reader should be first made acquainted with.

ments, viz. 1. The *Gavon*. 2. The *Escandolat*. 3. The *Compagne*. 4. The *Paillot*. 5. The *Taverne*. 6. The Chamber of the *Prow*, or *Forecastle*. There are on the Deck sixty Seats for the Rowers, or Galley Slaves, and six Slaves to each Seat. The Oars are fifty Feet long, thirteen of which are within, the rest without the Vessel. The Deck is not an entire Flat, but seems separated in the Middle by a Range of Timbers running from Stem to Stern, called the *Coursier*.

Of the COURSIER.

THE *Coursier* is composed of broad and thick Planks of Oak, running from one End of the Galley to the other; the two Sides of this are erected on the Deck, three Feet and an half Distance from each other, and form a Sort of continued Chest or Case, which serves to hold the Tents and other Baggage of the Crew. This Case or Chest is covered by other Boards laid cross-ways, and each Seat has the Care of keeping these Boards clean, and of taking them up upon Occasion. The *Coursier* thus covered with Boards, forms a Sort of a Walk running through
the

the Midst of the Galley, with Seats on the right and left. There is no going from one End of the Vessel to the other but upon this Walk; and two can scarce walk a breast upon it, without being in Danger of falling upon the Seats that lie underneath. As this Courfier is higher than the Deck, it consequently prevents the Water which in a high Sea washes over the Deck, to enter the Hold as the Hatchways are within it.

Of the Masts of a GALLEY.

A Galley has two Masts, a Main and Mizzen-mast. The Main-mast, which is fixed in the Center of the Vessel, is sixty Feet high, and without Shrouds to ascend it. The Sailors of *Provence* are however extremely expert at climbing it, with the Assistance only of a single Rope. And they certainly run it up with amazing Dexterity. This Mast has nothing but the Cordage proper for fixing the Sail-yard, and thus naked, resembles a Tree just planted.

THE Sail-yard is twice as long as the Mast, and consequently an hundred and twenty Feet long.

THE

THE Mizzen-mast, called the *Trinquet*, which is fixed at the Prow, is forty Feet high, and made in the same Manner with the Main-mast. It's Sail-yard is eighty Feet long.

IN my Time there was invented at *Dunkirk* a third Mast, called the *Artimon*, which was planted when Occasion required, at the Stern, near the Cabbin, where the Head Officers are stationed. This Mast was twenty-six Feet long, and its Sail-yard forty. This is seldom used but to turn the Galley; it was found extremely useful to assist another Invention made about the same Time, viz. a Rudder in the Prow. For when there was Occasion to retreat from an Enemy in Battle, there was much Trouble in turning the Galley, because of its very great Length, which gave the Enemy an Opportunity of killing Numbers of the Men, and damaging the Vessel, before it could perform the necessary *Maneuvre*, which often took up half an Hour to perform. But by this Invention of the Rudder in the Prow, and turning the Oars, and so rowing as if backwards, they could quickly retire, still keeping the Prow where their Cannon are placed to the Enemy, and fighting while

while they retreated. All this could be done at once by a Blast of the Comite's Whistle.

Of the Manner of rowing a GALLEY.

IT is impossible to express the Fatigues which the Slaves undergo who are condemned to row these unweildy Vessels. Such are the Cruelties exercised, that human Nature might shudder at a Description of them. It is nevertheless in some Measure true, that a Galley could be navigated by no other Means but a Crew of Slaves, over whom the Officers have an unbounded Authority. A Crew of free Men the most robust, and never so well acquainted with the Methods of rowing could not hold out. This is not Conjecture, I speak from Experience.

In the Year 1703 there were built at *Dunkirk* four half Galleys, as they were called, which were to be sent to *Antwerp* to navigate on the River *Scheld*. These half Galleys were proportioned exactly to their Dimensions as the large Gallies were. The Oars were twenty five Feet long, and three Men to every Oar. They put in these free Men who were perfectly acquainted with

with rowing; for it was not thought adviseable to trust to Slaves, who might be tempted to escape, as there are so many Opportunities on the neighbouring Continent; and might also revolt in some of the frequent Skirmishes which they intended to have with the Enemy. They were thus fitted out from *Dunkirk*, and were to go from thence to *Ostend* by Sea, and so to *Ghent* by the Canal of *Bruges*. When they came to be tried however, they could scarcely leave the Port of *Dunkirk*, when they were obliged to return, not being able to hold out longer. The Commander was obliged to write to the Ministry of the Impossibility of navigating without a Crew of Slaves. Upon which the Ministry gave Orders to place a Slave as the first Rower, and two free Men to every Oar, which was executed accordingly. They were thus able to bring the Vessels by Sea from *Dunkirk* to *Ostend*, though not without some Difficulty, as the Comite could not exercise the same Cruelties on the Men who were free as he did upon the Slaves. This Instance may sufficiently serve to prove that a Galley cannot be navigated without a Crew of Slaves, over whom a

Comite

Comite may exercise an unbounded Authority. It may also be remarked that when a Comite is wanting, the Captain desires no other Qualifications in the Candidates for the Place, but Barbarity and Want of Pity. If it be found that he has these Talents in a supreme Degree, he is preferred without further Examination. It is certain the Place is no very honourable one, and they meet with Respect scarce any where else but aboard. Mr. *Langeron*, our Captain, seldom gave them any other Appellation than that of *Executioner*; and when he gave any particular Orders, he used to order his first Executioner to be called, meaning the Comite. Though this Gentleman had Names not a bit more polite for all the Crew: For Instance; when it was necessary that we should take some Refreshment, he ordered the *Dogs* to their *Mess*. He only meant by this that we should be served with Beans, the usual Food allowed us. These are indeed most intolerable eating, and what nothing but the most pinching Hunger could dispense with. They are ill boiled, with scarce any Oil, a little Salt, and all to be eaten out of a capacious Cauldron, not the cleanest

est in the World, as you may easily guess. I was never so hungry but I preferred eating my Portion of Bread dipped in Vinegar and Water to this Mess, which even offended the Sense of Smelling with its unfavoury Odour. However, these and twenty-two Ounces of Biscuit are all the Food allowed for Galley Slaves. Each of the Crew receives four Ounces of this Beverage; that is, provided none of it be secreted before it is brought upon Deck, which is not unfrequently the Case. Judge how well a Man obliged to work hard can dispense with so scanty an Allowance. I once had the Curiosity to count the Number of Beans which a Brother-Slave had got for all his Portion, which amounted to just thirty; and those of the little black Sort of Bean, commonly called Horse Beans.

IN speaking of the rude Toil of the Oar, I should however take Notice, that forcing the Slaves to proceed with all their Strength is not very usually practised; were this the Case, there would soon be an End of the whole Crew. No, they are spared, as we spare Horses, till there is a Necessity to make them exert their Strength. Thus, for Instance;

stance; when at Sea, and with a favourable Wind, then Sails are used, and the Crew repose, as the Sails are only managed by those who are free. Also when the Gallies go from one Port to another, and when no Enemy is feared or expected, the Slaves are allowed what they call *Quarter*; that is, one half row, and the other half rest an Hour and an half alternately. All these who repose are obliged to be in Readiness, and relieve their Companions at a Blast of the Whistle.

THE Voice is never used in exercising the Crew, the Whistle gives all Directions, which is perfectly understood by the Equipage and Crew; this is a Language that a little Use quickly teaches. The *Comites*, who receive their Directions from the Captain, give all Orders. The Names of different Parts of the Galleys, of the Officers of Distinction are all particularized by different Notes. Those who hear, but do not understand these Sounds, are generally pleased with the *Comite's* Expertness in blowing. I remember once one of our *Comites* kept a Parrot in a Cage on board, who imitated so exactly all

all the Notes of the Whistle, that we were often put out, and executed Things contrary to Command. At last the Captain gave Orders to have this Animal removed, but not before there were some Stripes received by those who were Fools enough rather to obey a Bird than their Officers.

It need not surprize the Reader to hear of the Cruelties of the Comites to their Crew, it is their Trade; a Trade to which they have been bred from their Youth. I may add also it is their Duty, as a Galley can be navigated by no other Means. They can, and perhaps ought to be excused. But to see the superior Officers, Men generally of Breeding and Family, cruel to the Slaves, and continually issuing new Orders of Punishment to Creatures, whose Meanness should render them unworthy of their least Concern: To see such, I say, cruel, is what must surprize the Reader. Nothing, however, more true than that it is so. To give an Example. At the Time we went to attack the *English* Frigate already mentioned, as the Officers feared she would escape by Favour of the Night, the Crew of Slaves were forced as much as possible. The Lieutenant of our Galley
gave

gave the Comite Orders to strike without Mercy. The Comite was apprehensive that we should never be able to come up with the Frigate before Night-fall. To which the Lieutenant, more brutal than he, reply'd, that if they did not come up, he, the Comite, should be hang'd on the Yard-arm. Strike without Mercy; if your Blows cannot animate, at least they will intimidate. I have seen, continued he, a Comite in the Galleys of *Malta*, cut off a Slave's Arm, and use it as an Instrument of Punishment upon the rest of the Crew. Whether he advised our Comite, by this Story, to an Imitation of so barbarous an Example, I shall not take upon me to assert; but certain it is, Providence seem'd to punish his Cruelty, as he was killed the very first Broadside. Nay, it seem'd as if his Body was unworthy Burial; for though all possible Care was taken to bring it to Land, in order to have it interred, and though we were but three Days at Sea after he was killed. Yet the Corpse stank so in that Time, that we were oblig'd to fling it overboard in Sight of the Harbour of *Dunkirk*.

UPON

UPON another Occasion our Galley was ordered to *Boulogne*, near *Calais*, where the Duke *d'Aumont* resided, whom we afterwards saw in Quality of Ambassador to *England*. Mr. *Langeron* gave him an Entertainment aboard our Galley; and as the Sea was calm, proposed to give his Grace an airing for a few Hours upon the Water, which Proposal was accepted. We rowed at our Ease towards *Dover*; the Duke in the mean Time observing that our Toil was immense, wondering how we could sleep aboard chained as we were, and so ill provided with every Thing necessary to repose. The Captain informed him that he knew a Secret to make the Crew sleep profoundly, and promised to shew the Effects of his Art that Evening upon every Slave in the Galley. He then called to the Comite, and ordered him to tack about and return to *Boulogne*. The Wind was contrary, and the Sea ran pretty high. The Captain gave Orders for forcing the Oars. This is certainly the greatest Labour that can be imagined, as we are obliged to strike twice in this for once in the ordinary Manner of rowing. And add to this, it is almost impossible
in

in such an Exertion of Strength, not to miss the Stroke sometimes, which is always punished with the most unrelenting Severity. At length we arrived at *Boulogne*, but so fatigued and bruised, that we almost lost the Use of our Limbs for the present. The Captain now commanded the Comite to give sleeping Orders, which was accordingly done by a Blast of the Whistle. In the mean Time the Duke and the rest of the Officers sat down to Supper.

AT Midnight, when the Duke rose from Table, the Captain said he would now shew his Skill in making Men sleep, and conducted him upon the *Courfier* to behold the Crew. A great Part were asleep, and those whose Sores still kept them waking, feigned Repose; for the Captain had beforehand given Orders to that Effect, that the Duke's Surprise might be the greater. Certainly it was strange such a Sight could entertain a Man of common Humanity to behold six Wretches naked, (for they had no Opportunity of dressing) chained to their Seats, crowded one upon the other, still bleeding with the Stripes they had lately received. Strange, I say, that a Man bred politely, and
 assuming

assuming the Name of Gentleman, could be pleased with so shocking a Spectacle ! Surely there is something in superlative Misery that sinks a Wretch even below Pity ; and when the Criminal suffers more than falls to the common Lot of Mankind, we are apt to forget it is our fellow Creature that suffers. You see, my Lord, says the Captain, that I am possessed of the Secret of making Men sleep : Now you shall see I know as well how to awake them. Upon this, he orders the Comites to blow a *Reveil*. The Scene now became shocking indeed. Scarce one of the whole Crew was able to move ; their Limbs were stiffened, and hardly at last were the Whips of the Comites able to put them in Motion. By this we may judge of the Clemency of the general Officers, as well as those of a subordinate Station.

Of the Sails of a GALLEY.

EACH Mast carries but one Sail, but there are different Sails for to be fixed to the Mast, greater or less, as the Wind seems to demand. There is, however, no Difference in the Sails,

except that of being greater or less. When they are to be put up, the Sail-yard is let down upon Deck, and the Slaves fasten the Sail to it. If the Wind is not too strong, the Sail-yard is elevated to the Top of the Mast, and in Proportion as this is raised the Sail spreads. As the Sail-yard is twice as long as the Mast, the thickest End of it comes down almost to the Foot of the Mast, the other End rises forty Foot above the Mast; so that the Sail, which is fixed along to the very highest Top of the Yard, when all spread, resembles a Pidgeon's Wing; for all the Sails of a Galley are triangular. When the Wind is too strong, there is some Danger in spreading the Sail; for the Wind taking the Sail before the Yard is fixed in its proper Situation, the Sail might overturn the Galley. In order to prevent this Danger, after it is fixed on the Yard, it is then rolled up and fastened to the Yard, by a dry Weed called Sea Bulrush, which has Strength sufficient to keep the Sail fixed. After the Yard is raised to the proper Elevation, the Bulrushes are broke at the Bottom, and the Wind catching the Sail, the Bulrushes
are

are broke all the way up in an Instant. The same Manoevre is used in spreading the Sails of the Trinquet. The Sailors never climb the Yard to take down the Sail, but every Time that this is requisite the Yard is taken down. In all Engagements there is great care taken to fasten the Yard to the Mast, by several Ropes and even by Chains of Iron. For if by chance a Cannon Ball should cut the Cord, which fastens the Yard by its Middle, the Yard would consequently fall on the Galley; and as it is of a prodigious Weight and Thickness, its fall would sink the Vessel to the Bottom, or at least would kill Numbers aboard.

Of the ARTILLERY.

A Galley carries five Pieces of Brass Cannon, all placed in the Prow. The principal Cannon is called the *Coursier*. It is so called from its Situation, for it lies along as in a Case in the *Coursier*. This Piece carries a Ball of thirty six Pounds. It is placed upon Planks of Oak made angular, and nailed to the *Coursier*. These Planks thus cut form an inclined Plain, highest

next the Prow, and declining to the Foot of the Main-mast. When the Cannon is to be fired, it is charged in its Case, and by Means of two Pulleys, one on the Right and the other on the Left, the Cannon is hawled forward; and as the Timber underneath is very well greased, it slides without any great Stress required to its Embrazure, which is in the Prow; where, by the Means of Wedges drove in under the Breech, it is pointed as the Gunner thinks proper. As soon as the Cannon is discharged, it recoils of itself to the Bottom of the angular Timbers, and is thus replaced as it was before it was brought forward. Here it is again charged, and so on as long as necessary. This Piece is made Culverin Fashion, and carries to a very great Distance. It may be of vast Prejudice to the Enemy, as the Galley being low, this Shot generally takes the Enemy between Wind and Water. But it is more than ever dangerous, if the Sea be calm, for the Galley then having but very little Motion, the Piece can be levelled with greater Exactness. Beside this Cannon, there are four others, two on each Side. Two are twenty four Pounders, the

the other two eighteen Pounders. These four Cannons are placed upon the Fore-castle or the *Rambade*, as it is called. This is a Deck raised above the Galley six Feet; it is ten Feet broad, and reaches quite across the Galley, which is forty Feet broad. Upon this *Rambade*, the Mariners stand in performing the necessary Manoeuvres of the Mizen-mast or *Trinquet*. Upon boarding the Enemy, this is also the Post of Honour, as it is from thence that the Enemy is boarded; and always a general Officer leads the Way on those Occasions. These four Cannon are fixed to the Deck, and do not recoil as the great one does. They are always served by very experienced and able Gunners.

*Of the PROVISIONS, of the EQUIPAGE,
and CREW of a GALLEY.*

WHEN a Galley is fitted out, the Officers, Soldiers and Mariners, who compose the Equipage, to the Number of two Hundred, of which I shall give a Description hereafter, are maintained at the Royal Expence,

from the Day of Armament to that of being laid up, in the following Proportion :

The principal Officers, six in Number, have twenty two Ounces of Biscuit each, *per Day*,

2 lb. Pork.

2 lb. of Salt Beef.

2 lb. of Salt Fish.

2 lb. of Cheese.

$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of Olive Oil.

1 lb. of Rice.

2 lb. of Peas.

7 Pots of Wine, *Paris Measure*.

} *Per Week.*

Subordinate Officers twenty Seven in Number, twenty two Ounces of Biscuit each *per Day*.

1 lb. of Pork.

1 ditto of Salt Beef.

1 ditto of Salt Fish.

1 ditto of Cheese.

4 oz. of Olive Oil.

$\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of Rice.

1 lb. of Peas.

7 Pints of Wine.

} *Per Week.*

a PROTESTANT. 175

- 100 Soldiers.
- 25 Master Rowers.
- 26 Seamen.
- 8 Pertuisaniers.
- 3 Swabbers.

In all 162

Twenty two Ounces of Biscuit each *per* Day.

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 lb. of Pork. | } <i>Per Week.</i> |
| 1 ditto Salt Meat. | |
| 1 ditto Salt Fish. | |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of Cheefe. | |
| $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of Oil. | |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of Rice. | |
| 1 lb. of Peas. | |
| 7 Pints of Wine. | |

Slaves three Hundred ; each twenty six Ounces
of Biscuit, and four Ounces of Beans *per* Day.

A List of the five hundred Men, who compose the Equipage and Crew of a GALLEY, their Salaries and Employments.

ONE Captain; who has twelve hundred Livres Yearly; and when the Galley is fitted out, he has five hundred Livres a Month for his Table, where are entertained the five principal Officers and the Almoner.

1 Lieutenant, who has four thousand Livres a Year.

1 Sub-Lieutenant, two thousand Livres a Year.

1 Ensign, twelve hundred Livres a Year.

1 Garde de l'Etendart, payed by the Admiral of the Gallies seven hundred Livres a Year. These are the five principal Officers.

The Subaltern Officers are,

1 Almoner, at sixty Livres a Month.

1 First Pilot, fifty Livres a Month.

1 Commissary, fifty Livres a Month.

1 First

a PROTESTANT 177

- 1 First Surgeon, fifty Livres ditto.
- 1 Chief Comite, thirty Livres ditto.
- 1 Master Gunner, thirty Livres ditto.

Petty OFFICERS.

- 4 Steersmen, twenty Livres each *per Month*.
- 1 Under Pilot, twenty five Livres ditto.
- 2 Sub-comites, twenty Livres ditto.
- 1 Keeper or *Argouzin*, two Livres ditto.
- 1 Under Keeper, fifteen Livres ditto.
- 1 *Barrillat*, the Man who has the Charge of the Kitchen Furniture, &c. twenty five Livres ditto.
- 1 *Remola*, who has the Care of the Oars, twenty Livres ditto.
- 1 Master, 2 Livres ditto.
- 4 Captains de Garde, who command the Sailors in the Shaloups, fifteen Livres ditto.
- 1 Captain of the Mariners, the Man who commands the rowing Mariners, and who rows himself as well as the rest upon Ocasione, twelve Livres ditto.
- 1 Major Domo, who assigns the Provisions to their proper Places, twelve Livres ditto.

178 MEMOIRS of

1 Captain at Arms, who is the Serjeant Major, eighteen Livres ditto.

4 Serjeants, fifteen Livres ditto.

4 Corporals, nine Livres ditto.

100 Soldiers, seven $\frac{1}{2}$ Livres ditto.

25 Rowing Mariners, who row with the Slaves, and take the Places of those of the Slaves, who are either dead or sick, seven Livres ditto.

26 Sailors, who manage the Sails, nine Livres ditto.

8 Pertuisaniers, who guard the Slaves, and attend them in the City, with Sabre in Hand, seven Livres ditto.

3 Swabbers Boys ; who are bred up in order to be Comites, and instructed in blowing the Whistle, five Livres ditto.

200 Condemned Slaves.

50 Turks.

In all five Hundred, who compose the Equipage and Crew of a Galley.

N. B. The Sailors who manage the Sails, are kept in pay only while the Galley is fitted out, but are discharged when it is laid up for the Winter. The Pay of all the rest runs on Sum-

mer

mer and Winter. They are notwithstanding obliged to find themselves in Provisions the Winter half of the Year. At *Dunkirk* they are lodged in the Casements, but at *Marseilles*, they are obliged to find Lodgings at their own Expence.

Of the Conveniencies for lodging the OFFICERS, while the GALLEY is at Anchor.

NEITHER the Officers nor any of the Crew ever go to Sleep, while the Galley is navigating, as there is no Place which is not taken up with the necessary Manoeuvres of the Vessel, and consequently none for sleeping in. Even the Hold is filled with Provisions, Sails, Cordage, and the rest of the Tackling; and none but the Slaves who have the Care of those things below, can find any Repose. The Soldiers are placed in the *Bande*, a Gallery running round the Vessel, and rest on their Knapfacks. The Sailors, Mariners, and petty Officers sit on the *Rambade*, which is no proper Place to find Rest in. The principal Officers sit in Chairs in the

Chamber at the Stern. But when the Galley is at Anchor in Port, the Case is otherwise. There is then a Tent stretched over the Galley from one end to the other, made of Cotton and Thread, and striped with Blue and White. It is supported by wooden Standards, placed at proper Distances. These Standards are of different Heights, so that the Tent at the Stern is eight Feet high, in the Middle of the Galley twenty, and at the Prow not above six. This Tent reaches to the *Apostie*, on each Side of the Galley, where being fastened, it covers the whole Vessel, and by its Form keeps out the heaviest Rain. The Tent being thus elevated, the whole Equipage are at rest. By Day each has some private Employment, either in mending his Rags or knitting Stockings, in which every Slave is after some Time perfectly skilled. The Sailors and Mariners amuse themselves with dancing to the Pipe and Tabor, in which the Provincials greatly excell. And it is really pleasing to see with what Agility and Justness of Time, their Legs accompany the Musick. At Night after Supper, the Slaves who belong to those

those Seats, over which the Officers have their Beds made, fix a Table, or somewhat like it, six Feet long and three Feet broad, upon four Standards, two fixed in one Seat and the other two in the Seat opposite. The Table thus fixed, may be raised above the Seats three Feet. Every Officer has a Matrafs made of Wool and Hair, kept by Day in the Hold. These are spread upon this Table, where is a Bolster also, which is kept from falling by a Ledge of Wood running along the Head of the Bed. After this the Bed Cloaths are laid on, and round the whole is raised a Pavilion or Tent, the Top of which is raised by a Pulley to the external covering of the Galley. This is made a warm and an elegant Place to lie in. These Pavilions of white and blue Linen, ranged in this Manner on each Side of the Courfier, which forms a Walk between them, make a very agreeable perspective running from one end of the Galley to the other. All these Beds are made in a Minute; after which the Crew are ordered to go to Sleep by the Whistle. The Officers and the Equipage, (for so I call that Part of the Crew who are free) go

to sleep when they please. But when once the Slaves are ordered to go to sleep, not one of them dares to sit up, talk, or stir in the least. If the Necessities of Nature oblige them to go to the Gally's Side, they must first cry out, *A la Bande*, and not presume to stir till one of the Officers gives permission by crying *Go*. Thus the whole Night the most profound Silence is observed by the Crew. The Mariners have each Pavilions on the Rambade or Forecastle, where they lie sheltered from the Weather. The Soldiers are crowded together on the *Bande*, and the Slaves sit on the Foot-stool, and lean their Heads against their Seats. Thus all on board compose themselves to Rest, while the Galley is kept in Pay for the Summer. But in Winter, when laid up, the Officers and Equipage, (all except the Comites, Keepers, and Pertuisaniers, who never leave the Galley) lie on Shore; then the Slaves, having more Room, sleep more commodiously, and cover themselves with their Great Coats.

The

The Difference between an ordinary Galley and those called the GRAND REALE and the PATRONE.

THAT called the *Grand Reale* does not differ in Construction from an ordinary Galley, except that it is larger; being an hundred and eighty Feet long, and forty-eight broad. It has sixty Seats for Rowers, and seven Slaves to each Oar.

THE Subaltern and Petty Officers are the same here as on board an ordinary Galley; but the principal Officers are more. This is the Galley that carries the General when he goes to Sea; but this happens but seldom. But the Captain of this is always *Chef d'Escadre*, and carries the Flag at his Main-mast-head. The other Captains carry theirs at the Mizzen-mast.

Principal

Principal Officers of the GRAND REALE.

1 Captain.

1 Second Captain.

1 Lieutenant.

1 Sub-Lieutenant.

1 Ensign.

4 Gardes de l'Etendart : These are all, from the other Gallies, obliged to be present when the Admiral is on board, as the Grand Standard is then hoisted:

1 Major.

1 Commissary General.

1 or 2 Volunteers.

—
12

120 Soldiers..

35 Sailors.

35 Rowing Mariners.

360 Condemn'd Slaves.

60 Turkish Slaves..

—
622

6 Subaltern Officers..

27 Petty Officers..

10 Pertuisaniers.

5 Swabbers.

—
670 in all.

WHEN

WHEN the General is on board, as all the *Gardes de l'Entendart* are obliged to be present, the whole amounts to seven hundred Men.

THE Gailey called *Patrone* is of the same Construction with the *Reale*, and of the same Dimensions. The Number of Men on board is also the same, except some principal Officers. When the Lieutenant-General goes to Sea, he goes on board the *Patrone*. Its Captain is also a *Chef d'Escadre*; and when the *Grand Reale* is not at Sea, it carries the Flag at the Main-mast.

THE Caps and Habits of the Slaves aboard these two Gallies are Blue, aboard the rest they are Red.

The Rank of the Principal Officers.

A CAPTAIN ranks with a Colonel in the Land Service.

A LIEUTENANT with a Lieutenant-Colonel.

A SECOND Lieutenant with a Captain.

AN Ensign with a Lieutenant.

A CHEF d'Escadre has the Rank of a Lieutenant General.

A Lieutenant General that of a General.

Of

Of the SHALLOUP.

A Galley has always two Shalloups; a greater and a less. The greater, called the *Caïque*, has ten Oars, with a Man to each Oar, and one to the Rudder. This Shalloup is employed in weighing Anchor, and serves also to carry fresh Water and other Necessaries aboard the Galley.

THE smaller, called the *Carrot*, has eight Oars and a Rudder, and nine Men. It is used only in carrying the principal Officers.

WHEN the Galley leaves the Harbour, the two Shalloups are hoisted on board, one on the Right Side of the Vessel, the other on the Left, by Pulleys. They are attached to Posts formed in Manner of a Gallows, called *Chevalets*, raised six Feet above the Seats, so that the Shalloups cover Part of the Crew. Thus they take up no Room, and hinder no Manœuvre; as the Rowers work with as much Ease beneath them as if they were away.

WHEN it is necessary at Sea to hail a Ship, one of these Shalloups is let down in an Instant with

with great Ease; and after performing the necessary Duty, is with equal Ease again hawled up to its former Situation. When the Galley drops Anchor, both its Shalloups are let down, and are fastened by a Rope to the Stern; well guarded, however, lest the Slaves, especially the *Turks*, who are never chained, and only have a Ring of Iron upon their Legs, should avail themselves of them to make their Escape. They are, notwithstanding, permitted to go into them, as well as the rest of the Crew, to smoak, as it is forbidden to smoak aboard the Galley, upon pain of having the Nose and Ears cut off. The principal Officers themselves, not even the Captain, dare transgress this Rule. So strict, in this Respect, are his Majesty's Orders. This Prohibition took its Rise from a Galley's being blown up several Years since, by a *Turk's* having let fall the Ashes of his Pipe into the Powder-Room.

The Dress of the Slaves.

EACH Slave receives every Year two Linen Shirts, somewhat finer than that of which Sails are made; two Pair of Trowsers, which are

are made without any Division, like a Woman's Petticoat; for they must be put on over the Head, because of the Chain. These Trowsers descend to the Knees. One Pair of Stockings, made of coarse red Stuff; and no Shoes. However, when the Slaves are employed in the Business of the Galley by Land, as frequently happens in Winter, the Keeper on that Occasion furnishes them with Shoes, which he takes back when the Slaves return to the Galley. They are supplied every second Year with a Cassock of coarse red Stuff. The Taylor shews no great Marks of an Artist in making it up: It is only a Piece of Stuff doubled, one half for the Forepart, the other for the Back; at the Top an Hole to put the Head through: It is sew'd up on each Side, and has two little Sleeves which descend to the Elbow. This Cassock has something the Shape of what is called in *Holland* a *Keil*, which Carters generally wear over the rest of their Cloaths. The Habit of the former is, however, not so long; for it reaches before only down to the Knees, and behind it falls half a Foot lower. Besides all this, they are allowed
every

every Year a red Cap, very short, as it must not cover the Ears. Lastly, they are given every second Year a Great Coat of coarse Cloth, made of Wool and Hair. This Habit is made in Form of a Night-gown, and descends to the Feet: It is furnished with an Hood, not unlike the Cowl of a Capuchin Friar. This is by far the best Part of a Slave's scanty Wardrobe; for it serves him for Matrafs and Blankets at Night, and keeps him warm by Day.

Of the usual Occupation of the Slaves in Winter, when the Galley is laid up.

WHEN the Order from Court arrives for disarming the Gallies, which generally is given about the latter End of *October*, the first Precaution is to land the Gunpowder; for they never bring their Powder into Port. The Gallies are next brought in, and ranged along the *Quay*, according to the Order of Precedence, with the Stern next the *Quay*. There are then Boards laid, calle *Planches*, to serve as a Passage from the *Quay* to the Galley. The
Masts

Masts are taken down and laid in the *Courfier*, and the Yards lie all along upon the Seats. After this they take out the Cannons, the warlike Stores, Provisions, Sails, Cordage and Anchors, &c. The Sailors and coasting Pilots are discharged, and the rest of the Equipage lodged in Places appointed for them in the City of *Dunkirk*. Here the principal Officers have their Pavilions, already described, though they lodge in them but seldom, the greatest Part spending the Winter at *Paris*, or at their own Homes. Those who remain, in order to cut a Figure, hire the most magnificent Houses they can find in the City, as they are almost all younger Brothers of the best Families of the Kingdom, and chuse to support their Dignity, though they have no other Funds to supply this Expence but the Royal Bounty. Hence also it happens that they are almost all Knights of *Malta*, who, among their Vows, make one of Chastity, being not allowed to marry. Thus, after their Death, as all their Fortune goes to the Order of *Malta*, they are not very solicitous in acquiring Fortunes, but enjoy their Acquisitions

tions during Life. And truly they may live in Splendor; for their Appointments are by no means inconsiderable.

THE Galley being at last entirely cleared, the Slaves find Room enough there to fix their wretched Quarters for the Winter. The Company belonging to each Seat procures Pieces of Boards, which they lay across the Seats, and upon these make their Beds. The only Bed between them and the Boards, is a cast-off Great Coat; their only Covering, that which they wear in the Day. The first Rower of each Seat, who has consequently the first Choice, is best lodged; the second shares the next best Place; the four others are lodged, each, on the cross Planks already mentioned, according to his Order.

WHEN the Weather grows extreme cold, there are two Tents raised over the Galley, one above the other. The outermost is generally made of the same Stuff of which the Slaves Great Coats are form'd, and keeps the Galley sufficiently warm; I mean, it seems warm to those who are accustomed to this hard Way of living. For those who have been used to their own Houses, and

warm

warm Fires, could never be able to support the Cold without being habituated to it before-hand. A little Fire to warm them, and a Blanket to cover them, would make our Slaves extremely happy; but this is a Happiness never allowed them on board. At Break of Day the Comites, who always sleep on Board, together with the Keepers and *Pertuisaniers*, who have the Care of the Crew, blow their Whistles, at the Sound of which all must rise. This is always done precisely at the same Hour; for the Commodore every Evening gives the Signal to the Comite by firing a Cannon for the Slaves to go to sleep, and repeats the same at Break of Day for their getting up. If in the Morning any should be lazy, and not rise when they hear the Whistle, they may depend on being lashed severely. The Crew being risen, their first Care is to fold up their Beds, to put the Seats in Order, to sweep between them, and wash them when necessary. The Sides of the Tent are raised up by Sticks for that Purpose, in order to air the Galley; though, when the Wind blows hard, that Side to the Leeward is only raised. When this is done,

done, every Slave sits down on his own Seat, and does something to earn himself a little Money.

It is necessary to be known, that no Slave must be idle. The Comites, who observe their Employments every Day, come up to those they see unemploy'd, and ask why they do not work? If it is answered, that they understand no Trade, he gives them Cotton Yarn, and bids them knit it into Stockings; and if the Slave knows not how to knit, the Comite appoints one of his Companions of the same Seat to instruct him. It is a Trade easily learnt; but as there are some who are either lazy, stupid, or stubborn, and will not learn, they are sure to be remarked by the Comites, who seldom shew them any future Favour. If they will not work at that, for their own Advantage, the Comite generally gives them some Work impossible to perform; (as, for Instance, to rub a Cannon Ball bright) and when they have laboured in vain to execute his Commands, he whips them for Laziness; so that, in their own Defence, they are at last obliged to learn to knit.

THERE are several of the Slaves who understand Trades, and teach them to others. Taylors, Shoe-makers, Wig-makers, Gravers, Clock-makers, &c. are to be found among them. Such are happy, when compared to those who know no Trade but Knitting; for in Winter they are permitted to build little wooden Stalls upon the *Quay*, each opposite to his respective Galley. The Keeper chains them in these Stalls every Morning, and unchains them at Night. This Keeper has for his Trouble about an Halfpenny a Day, as he is obliged also to watch them in their Stalls; this Trifle is paid very punctually.

THE *Turks* for the most Part have no Trade; they are, however, not obliged to knit; for as they are naturally turned to Business, and are never chained, upon paying the Keeper an Halfpenny, they are permitted to range about the Town, and work among the Citizens at any hard manual Labour, either cleaving Wood, drawing Water, or such like. Every Evening they return; nor is there known an Instance of any of them attempting to escape. The Truth

is,

is, it is almost impossible for them to effect it: Their brown Complexions, their Language, which is commonly the *Lingua França*, render them sufficiently remarkable; and they could never remain in the Country concealed for any Time. There is twenty Crowns Reward to any Person who shall apprehend a *Turk*, or a condemned Slave, so as they may be brought back to the Gallies.

WHENEVER a Slave is missing, there are Guns fired one after the other, which advertise his Escape to the Peasants round the Country; upon which they all rise, and with Hounds taught for the Purpose trace out his Footsteps; so that it is almost impossible for him to secure a Retreat. I have seen several Instances of this at *Marseilles*. At *Dunkirk*, indeed, the *Flemings* detest such Practices; but the Soldiers, with which the Town abounds, will do any thing to gain twenty Crowns. At *Marseilles* the Peasants are cruel to the last Degree: I have been informed, for certain, that a Son brought back his own Father, who had been a Slave, and endeavoured to escape. The Intendant, as the

Story goes, was so shocked at his Undutifulness, that though he ordered him the twenty Crowns for his Fee, yet sentenced him to the Gallies for Life, where he remained chained to the same Seat with his unhappy Father. So true is it, that the Natives of *Provence* are in general perfidious, cruel, and inhuman.

I REMEMBER, in our Journey through this Country to *Marseilles*, when we used to stretch out our little wooden Cups for a Drop of Water, to the Inhabitants who ran from their Houses to see us, they had the Inhumanity to refuse. The Women themselves, whom we most commonly addressed, as a Sex the most susceptible of Pity, answered our Entreaties with Reproaches. Away, away, said they to us, you are going where you will have Water enough.

BUT to resume my Narration: All along the *Quay*, where the Gallies lie, are ranged these little Stalls, with three or four Slaves in each, exercising their Trades to gain a trifling Subsistence. Their Trades are nevertheless frequently little better than gross Impositions on the Credulity of the Vulgar. Some pretend to
tell

tell Fortunes, and take Horoscopes; others profess Magic, and undertake to find stolen Goods; though Cunning often helps them out when the Devil is not so obedient as to come at a Call. Permit me to relate a Story of this Kind, which happened when I was at *Marseilles*, which may amuse a few, though I am conscious most will think it extremely trifling.

ON board the *Grand Reale*, where I then was a Slave, there was an old Man, whose Name was *Laviné*. This Man was famous for never failing in finding Goods lost or stolen. A Merchant of *Marseilles* had forgot twenty Guineas on his Compter, which were taken away; and, as it was suspected, by some Person of the Family. Having made all the Search possible, without Success, he at length addressed himself to *Laviné*, the reputed Magician. Our Conjuror, according to Custom, confidently assured him that if his Money was gone to Hell itself, he would find Means to bring it back. He was to receive a *Louis d'Or* for his Pains; and in order to undertake the Affair methodically, he requested a List of the Names of all the Persons in the Merchant's Family,

mily, which was accordingly comply'd with. He again desired that all the Family, not one excepted, should be present the next Day, which was in like Manner executed. *Laviné* accordingly appears the next Morning, bringing under his Arm a black Cock, and in his Hand an old Book grown greasy with being thumb'd over on these Occasions. This Book he pretended to be *tabacalistical*, and to contain all the Secrets of his Art. Upon entering, he asked the Merchant if all the Family were present? To which being answered in the Affirmative, the Conjuror orders them to be all brought into one Room. Opposite this Chamber was another, which he kept for himself, to perform his Incantations with more Solemnity. He now ordered the Windows of both Chambers to be shut, so as not to admit the least Light. After which he begun the Incantation with the most incomprehensible Solemnity. After this he informed the Merchant that the Thief was actually in the House, and should soon be discovered by the crowing of his Cock, which never failed on such Occasions. But, continued he, I hope, Sir, you will not be displeased with me, should

should the Devil carry the Thief away with him. The Devil, Sir, is a very thrifty Sort of a Gentleman, and will have his Reward; and truly it is but reasonable that he should do nothing for nothing. All this he said with an Air very proper to impose on the Ignorant. After this, unperceived in the Dark, he rubbed the Cock with Lamp-black, and calling all the Family by their Names, he ordered them to approach one after the other in the Dark, and lay their Hands on the Cock's Wings, assuring them that such was his Gift, that he would no sooner feel the Hand of the Thief, than he would discover him by crowing, and the Devil would take him bodily away. A Servaint Maid, who was actually guilty, passed by the Cock without touching him, imagining that this would save her from the Discovery the Cock would otherwise make, by crowing. Every one of the Family as they approached laid their Hands on the Cock, as conscious of their own Innocence, she only excepted; as fearing if she touched him, he would feel her guilty Hand, and discover her by crowing. All had passed by; but the Cock was still silent, when

Laviné, throwing open the Windows, desired every one to approach and shew their Hands: All it seems were blackened but the Maid's, when *Laviné* catching her by the Arm, cried out, here, here is the Thief. In short, she was so much surprized with his peremptory Manner, that she confessed the Fact and restored the Money. This and a thousand other Stories of the same Nature, which I could relate, if it were my Design to give Place to such Impertinencies, serves to give the Reader an Idea of the Industry of Galley Slaves in imposing upon their Customers, and getting a little Money. Among the Slaves who keep in their little Stalls, are to be found also Players at Slight of Hand; others who invite the ignorant to prick in the Belt. Some beg Passengers, who seem fit for their Purpose, to change them a Crown, and while the simple Stranger is reckoning out the Change, these Sons of Industry convey away a Part of it, and then pretend to change their Resolution of changing the Crown, and humbly ask Pardon for the Trouble they have given. There are Scriveners also among them who forge Wills, Licenses, Deeds, and Discharges for Soldiers;

diers; though this last is attended with some Danger, for if discovered, the Scrivener is hanged inevitably. They have Seals of various Sorts, of Towns, Bishops, and Cardinals. They have Paper of various Kinds, and are extremely expert at erasing Part of a Deed, and writing what they think proper in the Place of what is thus expunged. In short they are perfect Masters of their scurvy Calling, and work for a very small Profit.

THE Tradesman also in these Barracks of Slaves are not less Knaves than the Lawyers aforesaid. The Taylor steals the Cloth, the Shoemaker instead of Leather Soals to the Shoes he makes, cuts them out of Wood, which he covers with a Fish Skin glued on, with artificial Seams, and in fact, to all Appearance, made very handsomely, and of the strongest Leather. As they sell very good Bargains, there are Numbers of the Simple taken in. In short, where I to recount all their Tricks, I should never have done. There are several *Turks* in these Barracks who work at no manual Trade, but apply themselves intirely to Commerce. Some are Pawnbrokers, others sell Coffee, Brandy, and

such like Commodities. In general they are all Receivers of stolen Goods; and if they are discovered, it is only returning the Things stolen, and they are at no farther Trouble. Nevertheless, a *Turk* whom I knew at *Dunkirk*, had not the same good Fortune with the rest of his Countrymen upon a similar Occasion. Two Thieves, it seems, had pillaged the great Church of *Dunkirk* of several Ornaments; among other Things, they stole a Silver Vase, used in holding the holy Oil for extreme Unction. They carried this Vase to a *Turk* who kept a Stall along the Quay, who bought it for a Trifle. *Galafas*, which was this *Turk's* Name, after his Purchase, asked the Thieves if what they sold was not a *Roba Ganta*; that is, somewhat holy? The Thieves confessed what it was, and *Galafas* was somewhat puzzled in what Manner he should alter it so, as to be exposed to Sale with Safety. To effect this in the best Manner he could, he poured out the Oil; and as he had a mind to let nothing be lost, made Use of it in blacking his Shoes; and with a Hammer beat the Sides of the Vase together, and then hid it in a Hole in the Ground behind his Stall. Unfortunately

nately for him, soon after, one of the Rogues was taken and convicted of the Theft: he informed against *Galafas*, who ingenuously confessed his having bought the Vase, and the Place in which he had buried it. The Curate was sent for to take up that sacred Relick which none but a Priest should touch. The Curate and some other Priests came in their Canonical Habits, carrying with them the Cross, as in their ordinary Processions. The Vase was at last dug up, flattened together as the Buyer had left it. The *Turk* was asked what became of the Oil, who candidly told the Use to which it had been converted. The Priests were in a Rage that cannot be described, which the *Turk* seemed to enjoy, and laugh'd at their Folly. The Curate now applied himself to take off the *Turk's* holy Shoes, as none but a Priest was thought worthy to touch what had been rendered sacred by the holy Oil. The Shoes, the Vase, and all the Earth which it happened to touch, were with great Ceremony put into a Napkin, each Corner of which was held by a Priest, and the whole carried in the most mournful Procession, and with penitential Hymns to the
great

great Church, where they were deposited under the Altar. The Populace did not fail to see Miracles upon this Occasion. Every Night were seen heavenly Visions, sometimes two Angels hovered over the *Turk's* Stall; sometimes the Holy Virgin was heard to weep, and at other Times Angels went in Procession round the Place where the Vase was buried. It was a little strange, however, that I could see nothing of all this, for I lay just opposite, and could at all Times see any Thing of an extraordinary Nature.

I EXPOSTULATED with our Almoner on the Folly of such popular Mistakes: He answered that my Eyes were blinded with Error, and it was impossible I should see; and that Miracles were more frequently made to confirm the Believing, than to reclaim the Infidel.

THE Stall of *Galafas* was thrown down, its Place filled with Stones and other Rubbish, to prevent its being for the future occupied, and to preserve it as a Monument of Detestation. *Galafas* was put on board his Galley with double Chains and handcuffed. Here he remained some Time, as his Trial was prolonged by a Dispute
between

between the Council of War for the Galleys and the Clergy, who each fought to be his Judges. There was also another Reason why the Commodore could not deliver *Galafas* to the Clergy, and it was this: The King had established that no Court of Justice could try a Galley Slave, till he had first got the King's Pardon. And that any Galley Slave also could refuse this Pardon if he thought proper, upon Condition that he should serve all the rest of his Life on board the Gallies. The Clergy of *Dunkirk* were apprized of this, and solicited the King to grant the Slave his Pardon, which Favour they easily obtained. *Galafas* was all this Time expecting nothing but Death at the Hands of his offended Judges, when one Day the Major of the Gallies came to tell him he was set at Liberty, and felicitated him upon his Success. *Galafas*, who was ignorant upon what Conditions he received his Freedom, accepted his Majesty's Bounty with Joy. He was instantly unchained, and the Major putting into his Hand the King's Letter of Deliverance, told him he was at Liberty. The poor *Turk* in Raptures jumped from the Galley upon the Quay; but

but the Clergy had posted the Officers of Justice in such a Manner in all the Avenues leading to the Galley, that *Galafas* had walked but a few Steps when he was arrested and conducted to one of the Prisons of the Town. It was in vain that he cried out, the King had granted him his Pardon: He was answered that he must now stand his Trial as a free Man, for a Crime for which he could not be judged as a Galley Slave. His Trial was soon dispatched at the Request of the Clergy in the usual Form, and he convicted of Sacrilege, and condemned to be burnt alive, and his Ashes thrown into the Air, to be scattered by the Winds. *Galafas* appealed to the Parliament of *Douay*. He was transferred to that City accordingly, to have his Sentence confirmed; but as there passed some Time between his first Detention and his being transferred to *Douay*, the *Turks* of the Gallies found Means to send a Letter to *Constantinople*, and to have it presented to the Grand Seignior, complaining of the Severity of the intended Punishment of poor *Galafas*. The Grand Seignior ordered the *French* Ambassador into his Presence, and assured him that if *Galafas* suffered

suffered for an Action of such a Nature as *Turks* imagined to be no Crime, Orders should be given for the immediate Execution of five hundred Christian Slaves of *France* on board the *Turkish* Gallies. The *French* Ambaffador upon this dispatched an Exprefs to Court, who gave Orders to the Parliament of *Douay*, in Virtue of which *Galafas* was acquitted with only a slight Whipping along the Quay of *Dunkirk*, and perpetual Slavery on board the Gallies. He was notwithstanding soon after set entirely free, either with a Design to oblige the Grand Seignior, or by having purchased his Liberty with four hundred Livres, which *Turks* not unfrequently do.

BUT to resume the Manner in which the Slaves are employed in Winter. While some are thus employed in their little Stalls along the Quay, the major Part are chained to their Seats aboard, some few excepted, who pay an Halfpenny a Day for being left without a Chain. Those can walk about the Galley and traffick, or do any other Business which may procure them a wretched Means of Subsistence. The greatest Part of them are Sutlers, they sell Tobacco, (for in Winter

the Slaves are permitted to smook on board,) Brandy, &c. Others make over their Seats a little Shop, where they expose to Sale Butter, Cheefe, Vinegar, boiled Tripes, all which are sold to the Crew at reasonable Rates. An Half-penny worth of these, with the King's Allowance of Bread, makes no uncomfortable Meal. Except these Sutlers, all the rest are chained to their Seats, and employed in knitting Stockings. Perhaps it may be asked where the Slaves find spun Cotton for knitting? I answer thus:

MANY of the *Turks*, especially those who have Money, drive a Trade in this Commodity with the Merchants of *Marseilles*, who deal largely in Stockings. The Merchants give the *Turks* what Cotton they think proper unmanufactured, and the *Turks* pay them in this Commodity manufactured into Stockings. These *Turks* deliver the Cotton spun to the Slaves, to be knit: they are indifferent as to the Size of the Stockings, as the Slave is paid for knitting at so much a Pound. So that the Slave who receives ten Pound of spun Cotton is obliged to return the same Weight of knit Stockings, for which he is paid at a fixed Price.

There

There must be great Care taken not to filch any of the Cotton, nor leave the Stockings in a damp Place to encrease their Weight; for if such Practices are detected, the Slave is sure to undergo the Bastinado. This, however, not unfrequently happens; for the Slaves are so addicted to Drinking, that they will suffer the most cruel Treatment to indulge themselves in this Pleasure; they will steal, even though sure to be detected. The Robber and the Murderer are guilty of Crimes, only because they hope to escape; but these are the only Set of Men who are guilty with a certain Expectation of Punishment. Some demand Cotton from their Masters, (for so are the *Turks* their Employers called) which they no sooner receive, than they sell to a *Turk* in a neighbouring Galley; and in Company with two or three Slaves more spend the Money in Drinking; and it often happens that when they have once been set in, they all four do the same, and thus confidently and patiently wait for the bastinading they are sure to receive when their Master comes to demand their Manufactures. When the *Turk* comes to such upon these Occasions, they only desire him
to

to take Payment from their Backs. The *Turk* complains to the Comite, who complains to the Major, who at Nine every Morning comes to hear Complaints of that Nature. Thus the Criminal, without any further Process, is ordered twenty-five, thirty, and even fifty Blows if he be an old Offender. I knew one on aboard our Galley, who having received Wool to manufacture into Stockings, and having drank the Money he received in Advance from his Master with one of his Comrades, named *St. Maur*, was at last advised by this *St. Maur* to sell the Wool to have their drink out. The other objected the bastinading, which was to be the Consequence; but *St. Maur* answered all his Scruples, by assuring him that if one was, both should be bastinated. Yes, says he, you shall see I am a Fellow of Honour, and if your Back is flead, mine I'll assure you shall not go scot free. In short the other, as if his Comrade's Punishment would soften his own, agreed to his wife Expostulations, acquiesced in the Justness of his Argument, enjoys the present Hour, and steeped all disagreeable Reflections in Brandy. The Master came a few Days

Days after as usual; he was desired to take Payment from the Delinquent's Back, and the Major gave the Bastinade as usual. *St. Maur*, while his Comrade was under the Executioner's Hands, very deliberately stripping himself, in order to take his Turn. The Companions of his Seat did all in their Power to dissuade him from his Design, but without Success. He told them he was a Man of Honour; he had drank Part of the Wool, and it was just he should pay Part of the Reckoning. After the first Criminal had received his Punishment, the Major was leaving the Galley, for he had nothing to say against *St. Maur*. However, *St. Maur* had something to say to the Major, and calling him back, said, Sir, it is true you have nothing to object to my Conduct, but my Word and Honour is at Stake. I have promised to bear half my Friend's Punishment, and I must entreat you will order me as many Blows as you have given him, as I love to deal honestly with all Men. The Major, instead of laughing at the poor Fellow's Simplicity, in a Passion to be so braved, complied with his Request, and brutal as he was, gave rigorous Orders for the Execution.

tion. I wish Truth would permit me to conceal the Sequel! His Punishment was so rigorously inflicted, that the mangled Wretch died a few Days after. Such Cruelties are a Disgrace to human Nature; they harden the Criminal in Wickedness, instead of amending his Errors; and instead of making Fear a Motive to keep him in order, they destroy their own End, and teach the Delinquent no longer to fear a Punishment with which he is become so well acquainted: Thus by degrees they lose every Motive to Obedience, live by present Instinct, and degenerate into a State of brutal Insensibility. Certainly nothing can be imagined of Wickedness that is not practised by those Wretches in a superlative Degree. They study new Modes of Blasphemy, their Crimes are their Boast; and what they have committed they profess as trifling to what, if at Liberty, they would be guilty of. Notwithstanding, the Almoners, either by fair Means or foul, exact from them all the external Duties their Religion requires; and what indeed seems to constitute the Essence of the Popish Religion. They all confess and receive the Sacrament at *Easter*; but
Heavens!

Heavens! how are they prepared to receive it! Burning with every Passion, more outrageous from Constraint, with Blasphemies in their Mouths, and Infidelity in their Hearts, they receive what all Christians hold in the highest Veneration, but Papiſts aver to be their God! This they receive, I ſay, with as little Appearance of Penitence, and not more impreſſed with the Solemnity, than when getting drunk on board the Galley! The Almoners are content if the Thing is performed, no Matter how performed.

It muſt, notwithstanding what is here ſaid, be acknowledged that all Galley Slaves do not answer the preceding Deſcription. I have known ſome who were honeſt Men, and led moral Lives. There were many condemned for Deſertion, who had been either preſſed into the Service, or induced to liſt by Stratagem, who were honeſt and good Tradeſmen. Others alſo who were condemned for Smuggling, ſome for Manſlaughter, and ſome (and I have known not a few) who were innocent of the Crimes of which they had been convicted, and afterwards verified their

their Innocence. All these, or the greatest Part, distinguished themselves by their Way of living, and behaved in a quite different Manner from those infamous Wretches who had been nursed to Vice, and hardened in every Crime. Yet even these, lost to Shame as they were, never failed to testify their Respect to us, who were condemned to the Gallies only for Opinion. They never spoke to us without putting *Mister* to our Names, and never passed us by without saluting us. There were five chained to my Seat at *Dunkirk*, one for Murder, another for Robbery, a third for a Robbery on the Highway, the fourth for Burglary, and the fifth was a *Turkish Slave*. Yet I must say that they, with all their Vices, always held me in the highest Respect, and were ever ready to do me all the little Services in their Power. When the most Profligate spoke of us, they hesitated not to say, these Gentlemen are honest Men, they have done nothing to incur the Punishment they suffer, and lead sober Lives among us. The Officers themselves, and the rest of the Equipage, considered us in the same Light. In any Disputes between

us and the other Slaves, or in any Affair where our Witness was required, they would always abide by our Testimony, or give the Cause in our Favour. So true it is that Virtue, though in the lowest Degree of Abasement, is still held respectable. Yet let not my Reader conclude, that I am here offering Incense to myself; I cannot surely be accused of Vanity, in pretending to make a Distinction between Men suffering for Conscience, and others who are punished for acting in open Violation of all its Suggestions. I own myself a poor offending Sinner, and impute my Constancy rather to Education, which I may say almost mechanically influenced my Conduct, than to supernatural Endowments Heaven may bestow on its Favourites. Let me pay this Debt to the Piety of my Brothers in suffering, that their Fortitude might serve to instruct the Minds, and their Morality the Conduct of even their Enemies. But to leave this Digression:

I HAVE said that in Winter the Slaves were employed in gaining a few Halfpence each Day, to make them more easy under the Rigours of
 Servitude.

Servitude. The Comites encourage Industry with all their Might, because it is their Interest so to do; for as they sell Wine to the Crew, all the Profits of their Earnings ultimately terminate in the Pockets of the Comites. Another Reason that it must be so is, that it is impossible to live on the Bread and Water allowed by the King; and add to this, the Slaves being thus employed, have no Time to consult the Means of escaping, but work on, content with their State of Wretchedness.

BESIDE the Employment of the Slaves to gain themselves a Livelihood, they are obliged to do the Work of the Galley within and without. The Service abroad consists in this: Every Day twenty or twenty-four Slaves out of every Galley are obliged to go upon *Fatigue*, as it is called. They are generally ordered to the Marine Arsenal, where they look to the Rigging, and Furniture of the Gallies and Men of War, take them from one Place to another, and see that nothing receives Damage. This is a laborious Employment, to which they are conducted in the Manner following: They are chained

chained by the Leg two and two with a long Chain, which is supported in the Middle by a Cord which is fastened to a Belt that each Slave wears about his Loins; so that the Weight of the Chain rests upon this Belt, and not upon the Leg; which, if it did, would hinder them from working. Those Men thus chained are called a *Couple*; ten or twelve Couples from all the Gallies assemble before the Commodore. The Couples of the respective Gallies are conducted by a single *Pertuisanier*, and the Comite or his Deputy accompanies them from there to the Arsenal, stands over them, and orders their several Employments; and in the Evening they are all brought back each to his respective Galley. As for my Part I never worked in this Manner, as by giving two-pence or three-pence to one of the Slaves, as is permitted, he supplied my Place.

THE Service within the Galley is not a Bit less laborious. They clean out the Vessel at least twice a Week; and some Comites are so exact, or, to speak more truly, so severe, as to order this every Day. This Duty is called the *Bou-*

rafque, and the Comite gives Orders for doing it by the Whistle. The Sub-Comites with their Whips go from Seat to Seat, and have no Mercy on those they see lazy. Every Part of the Vessel is to be first cleaned with an Iron Scraper, with one of which all the Seats are furnished. This done, the Comites examine from Seat to Seat, to see if all be clean and well scraped. After this, Water is carried upon Deck, and all is washed with the utmost Care; for the Slaves, while at this Work, are naked from the Waist upwards, and the Whip is sure to punish Carelessness. At last all Things are replaced, and the Work done, which takes up at least three Hours every Morning.

BESIDE those ordinary Occupations of the Crew, there often happen some that are extraordinary; particularly when there are in Town Strangers of Distinction. The Governor often brings them on board the Gallies, to see the Slaves exercise in the Manner I am going to describe. Sometimes the Intendant, or the Commissary of the Marine do the same, but most frequently the Captains and Lieutenants order

this

this Exercise, when they conduct their Friends aboard to see the Inside of a Galley, where they generally give grand Entertainments. On board the Galley where I served, as it was the Commodore's, we were continually teized with this extraordinary Service. What added to the frequency of Visits aboard us was, that our Commodore had a Band of Musick, consisting of twelve Performers, all Slaves condemned to the Gallies. These were distinguished from the rest, by Caps laced with Gold, and their Habits turn'd up with Yellow. He who conducted the Band was one of the King's Musicians; but by his irregular Conduct and Debaucheries, was driven from Court, and listing in a Marching Regiment, soon after deserted. Being taken, he was condemned to the Gallies, and chained on board that of the Commodore. He was perfectly skilled in Musick, and his Harmony induced Numbers to visit us, which was no small Fatigue to the Crew. The Comite, on such Occasions, was ordered to have every thing in Readiness. The Galley was to be cleaned anew; the Slaves were to shave and change their Linen,

and put on their Red Habits and Caps: This done, they are all made to sit between the Seats on the Footstools, so that nothing appears but Heads, with Red Caps, from one End of the Galley to the other. In this Attitude the Gentlemen and Ladies who are the Visitors are expected, who entering the Galley one by one are saluted by all the Slaves with an hoarse and mournful Cry, *Hau*. This is done by the Slaves at once, so that it seems but one Voice. Every Gentleman and Lady receives one of these Salutations. If they be Persons of Distinction, the *Hau* is repeated twice; if a General, a Duke, or a Peer, they cry three Times, *Hau, Hau, Hau*. This is their greatest Mark of Distinction; the King himself receives no more, and this is called the Royal Salute. During this Salute, the Drums beat, and the Soldiers in their best Cloaths are ranged along the *Bande*, with their Guns shouldered: And as on these Occasions the Masts, when not taken down, are adorned with Streamers, and all their Finery is exposed, the whole makes no disagreeable Spectacle. The Chamber at the Stern is upon these Occasions

Occasions also adorned with Hangings of Red Velvet, fringed with Gold: Add to all this, the Ornaments in Sculpture at the Stern, thus beautified down to the Water's Edge; the Oars lying on the Seats, and appearing without the Galley like Wings, painted of different Colours. A Galley thus adorned strikes the transient Spectator with an Idea of Magnificence; but were he to carry his Imagination a little more closely, and reflect on the Miseries of three hundred Slaves, almost devoured with Vermin, their Backs scarred with Stripes, emaciated and dead eye'd, from the Severity of the Season and their cruel Treatment; chained Night and Day, and subject to the arbitrary Will of Creatures divested of every Sense of Tendernefs; were he to carry his Imagination thus far, I am sure his Admiration at the gaudy Outside would cease.

THE Ladies and Gentlemen having passed from one End of the Galley to the other, return again to the Stern, where there are Easy Chairs provided. The Comite, having received Orders from the Captain, gives the Crew his Commands by the Whistle. At the first Blast

every Slave takes off his Cap; at the second, his Coat; at the third, his Shirt; and thus nothing is seen but naked Bodies. The next Scene is what is called the *Monkeys*, and is thus: They are all ordered to lie along their Seats, and the Spectator loses Sight of them; then they lift at once their First Finger, next their Arms, then their Heads; then one Leg, and so on, till they appear standing upright. Then they all open their Mouths, cough all together, embrace, throw each other down, and several such ridiculous and indecent Postures, which serve to divert the Insensible; but to a Mind properly instructed, must surely be regarded with Horror: Where Men, nay more, where Christians, are thus treated like Beasts. These Exercises frequently occur, as well in Winter as Summer.

THESE are the Employments of the Crew while Winter lasts: At the Approach of Summer their Employments are multiplied every Day by new Fatigues. All the Ballast, which is composed of little Stones about the Size of Pidgeon's Eggs, is taken out, and handed up from the Hold in little Wicker Baskets from

one to the other, till they are heaped upon the Quay opposite the Galley. Here two Men are to pump Water upon them till they become as clean as possible; and when dry, they are again replaced. This, and cleaning the Vessel, takes up seven or eight Days hard Labour. The Galley being put into proper Order, every Day till it puts to Sea, brings fresh Employment. First, necessary Precautions must be taken with respect to the Cordage, that it be strong and supple, and what new Cordage may be necessary is to be supplied by the Slaves, by passing it round the Galley. This takes up some Days to effect: Next the Sails are to be visited, and if new ones are necessary, the Comite cuts them out, and the Slaves sew them. They must also make new Tents, mend the old, in like Manner prepare the Officers Beds, and every thing else, which it would be impossible to particularize. This Bustle continues till the Beginning of *April*, when the Court sends Orders for putting to Sea.

OUR Armament begins by careening the Gallies. This is done by turning one Galley upon

another, so that its Keel is quite out of the Water. The whole Keel is then rubbed with rendered Tallow: This is perhaps one of the most fatiguing Parts of a Slave's Employments. After this the Galley is fitted up with her Masts, Rigging, Artillery, and Ammunition. All this is performed by the Slaves, who are sometimes so harrassed, that the Commander is obliged to wait in Port a few Days till the Crew have Time to refresh themselves.

Of the Usefulness of GALLIES to a State,
preferably to SHIPS OF WAR.

IT is a certain Fact, that Gallies occasion a considerable Expence to a State, whether Republican or Monarchical, by the vast Sums requisite to support them. It is easy to conceive it, when one reflects that the Gallies are constantly kept on foot, whether in Time of Peace or War; in Summer equipped, in Winter the contrary. Their Crews, which are numerous, consisting of Officers, Soldiers, and Mariners, receive always the same Pay, which is much
more

more considerable than that of the Crew of a Ship of War; whereas these last, in Time of Peace, or when they are not equipped, require only to have their Head Officers paid. I own that the Gallies of the Republicks of *Italy* do do not cost near so much as the Gallies of *France*, by the good Management of those Republicks. All the World knows that many Gallies of these Commonwealths belong to private Persons of Distinction, under the Protection of their respective States; and that when those States have Occasion for them, they pay for their Use to the said Persons, which greatly contributes to Oeconomy. Moreover, these States of *Italy* reap Benefit from the Gallies, as they guard their Coasts from the Invasions of the *Moors*, to which they are constantly exposed, and go continually in Expeditions against them, which often turn out very profitable, by reason of the Captives which they take, which in some measure makes up for the Expence they are put to.

THE Case is not the same with regard to the Gallies of *France*. They are not employed in

guarding the Coasts from the Invasions of the Infidels. Those Coasts are much less exposed thereto by their Situation, and *France* is powerful enough to check the Insolence and repel the Outrages of the Pirates, without being at the Trouble of sending Gallies after them. Of what Service then are the Gallies of *France* to the State? I answer, according to what Information I have, and from the Experience which I acquired during twelve Years which I passed on board them in the Ocean, the Gallies have had greater Success there, during that Time, than they have had for an Age in the *Mediterranean*; and yet all those Successes amount to two or three Men of War, which they have taken from the Enemy, without one single Merchantman, though the Sea was covered with them.

I DON'T mention the constant Alarms which they gave to the Coasts of *England*, but in a very narrow Space, I mean the *Channel*, and without any other Effect than that of firing a few Cannon into the *Downs*, without having ever made, or attempted to make a Descent,
except

except that upon *Harwich*, which was unsuccessful.

I SHALL be asked, perhaps, what View could *France* then have had, in keeping on foot forty Gallies in the Reign of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, at so extravagant an Expence? The only Reason for it, that I can see, is this: First, to shew at what Pitch her Power then was: Secondly, to maintain a considerable Number of Gentlemen, most of whom were younger Brothers of good Families, who were destitute of all other Fortune but a good Education. Most of them being Knights of *Malta*, which brings but little or no Revenue, are reduced, for the Support of their Dignity, to depend upon the King's Favours, who promotes them according to their Merit and Birth; and the supporting such a Number of Gallies furnishes the Occasion; for almost all the Head Officers of the Gallies are Knights of *Malta*. The Third Reason is this; the Kingdom of *France* being very extensive and populous, there must certainly be a great Number of Criminals of every Kind; and in order to check them and punish their Crimes, such a Number
of

of Gallies was indispensably necessary. Add to this, that at that Time Deserters were condemned to the Gallies, which rendered their Crews still more numerous.

WITH regard to the Benefit which the State reaps from hence, it is of small Consequence: In Time of Peace the Gallies are of little Use but to escort Persons of Distinction to *Rome*, or other States of *Italy*, such as Cardinals, Ambassadors, and others, by the King's Orders. When the Occasion offers, a Galley or two is ordered to be in Readiness. At all other Times the Gallies remain in the Port of *Marseilles*, without doing any thing; or when a Squadron of five or six is fitted out, it is only to cruize upon the Coasts of *Italy*, in order to procure Respect to the Flag, or to exercise the Crews and the Galley Slaves.

THE Question remains, of what Use are the Gallies in Time of War? I answer, as I have done already, that they are of very little Use, especially in the Ocean, where they cannot sail without great Difficulty, on account of the Ebbing and Flowing of the Tide, which is more

perceptible near the Coasts than in full Sea. Now the Form of the Gallies does not suffer them to go out far in it, nor to lose sight of the Coast; and when they are under the Necessity of doing it to pass from one Port to another at a little Distance, they take great Precautions, and always choose for that Purpose a Season in which the Weather is perfectly calm, and the Sea smooth as Glass; and as this happens but seldom in the Ocean, they are often wearied out for a long Time in the Port, in Expectation of such an Opportunity. For the same Reasons, the Gallies are not fit to go upon a Cruize against the Enemy; and they can very seldom find an Opportunity of engaging them, because they cannot go far from the Coast in search of the Enemy's Ships, whether Men of War or Merchantmen, that never sail better than in open Sea.

They have besides another great Difficulty to encounter in Combats; which is the Impossibility they lie under of ever engaging, except in fair Weather. Then they have the greatest Advantage, since it is at their Discretion to attack
the

the most formidable Ships, or to shun them; and they have it in their Power to retreat unhurt, after having damaged such Vessels: But should there be Wind enough to give the Ships an Opportunity of making use of their Sails, ten Gallies would not venture to attack the smallest Frigate, but would immediately retire into Port; for if the Wind be strong enough, such a Frigate, coming full Sail against them, would easily find Means to sink them, because they are so low and slightly built. It remains to consider, whether the Gallies may be of use to assist a Fleet of Men of War in an Engagement? They would be so in Effect, if Time and Place were favourable to them. In that Case the Gallies are of great Use to bring off the Ships that have lost their Masts or been otherwise damaged, and bring others in their Place: But for this Purpose they must have fair Weather, undisturbed by any Gusts of Wind, for the Reasons assigned above. But the great Difficulty for the Gallies is to meet with such an Opportunity; because a Squadron that goes in quest of the Enemy cannot chuse the Place of the Engagement, and is almost always

ways obliged to go after it in the open Sea, and the Gallies never dare trust themselves four and twenty Hours out of Sight of Land. Besides this, Men of War can never fail without a pretty strong Wind to go in Search of the Enemy, and the Gallies cannot bear such a Wind; so that it is almost impossible that the Gallies should ever take Part in such an Engagement. The most they can do is to make a Descent upon the Country of an Enemy, to pillage and burn some Village; and these Descents cannot be of much Consequence, because the Gallies can take but little Force on Board, there not being Room for them, for the five hundred Men that compose the Crew fill it entirely; and of these five hundred but fifty or sixty can be landed out of each Galley, the Remainder being under a Necessity of staying on Board to guard the three hundred Slaves, who are more to be feared by them than the Enemy. For these Reasons the *Dunkirk* Gallies, during twelve Years that they passed there, never attempted to make a Descent either upon the Coasts of *Holland* or *England*. From what has been said it is evident, that the Gallies
can

can be but of very little Use in the Ocean. In the *Mediterranean* the Gallies sail with greater Ease, as well because there are no Tides in that Sea, as because Calms are much more frequent there than in the Ocean. But there are likewise the same Difficulties to prevent the Gallies from joining a Squadron of Men of War which goes in quest of the Enemy; for Ships of War cannot sail without a strong Wind, and the Gallies cannot stand such a one without exposing themselves to Destruction. The only Advantage then that can be hoped from the Gallies in the *Mediterranean* is, that as Calms are pretty frequent there, the Ships of the Enemy, whether Men of War or Merchantmen, may be surprized there by a Calm and stopped. The Gallies which happen to meet with a Ship in that Condition have a fine Opportunity to make themselves Masters of it, or to sink it, if it be too strong to board. It is almost the only Benefit that can be reaped from the Gallies in the *Mediterranean*, for they never attempt to make a Descent either upon the Coast of *Italy* or *Catalonia* for the Reasons assigned above. There may likewise hap-
pen

pen an Engagement between a Squadron of the Gallies and a Squadron of the Enemies Ships; but these Accidents seldom happen, because such Engagements are never decisive, and because there is nothing to be gained by them; for when the Enemy has once joined Battle, if he finds that he has the worst of it, he can fly with as much Ease as the Enemy can pursue. As Sails are not in use in the Gallies which go by Oars alone, it is equal to them whether the Wind be for them or against them. And what I here advance is so true, that there never was an Instance known of Gallies being taken from an Enemy by other Gallies. Such a Sight of Gallies against Gallies was never known in the Memory of Man, except in the War that preceded the Peace of the *Pyrenees*. At that Time a Squadron of the Gallies of *France* encounter'd a Squadron of the Gallies of *Spain* in the *Mediterranean*; the Action was very bloody. I knew an old *Turk*, a Slave aboard our Galley, who had been in that Engagement. He told me that the Gallies of *Spain* grappled with those of *France* at Boarding, and that these last would have

have been worsted, if the Expedient had not been thought of, of giving a Basket filled with Stones to the Galley-Slaves in each Bench to repulse the *Spaniards*, with a Promise of Liberty to the said Slaves if the *Spaniards* were defeated, which actually happened, for the *Spaniards* were forced to yield to this Shower of Stones, tho' not a single Galley was lost on either Side. However, the *French* Galley-Slaves were disappointed of their Expectations, and the *Italian* Proverb was verified, *As soon as the Holyday is over the Saint is neglected*. Since that Time no such Combat has ever been seen; for as it is an easy Matter for the weaker Party to avoid an Engagement, it is what always comes to pass.

The Gallies lie under another considerable Difficulty, when an Opportunity offers of engaging with Men of War; for the three hundred Galley-Slaves that are employ'd at the Oar are so many Enemies, who are constantly upon the Watch to procure their Liberty, whether by open Force or otherwise; and as many Precautions are necessary to prevent their revolting, as to oppose the Designs of the Enemy. To this

End

End the Slaves are hand-cuff'd; two Pieces of Cannon are planted at the Poop, charged with Grape Shot, one directed towards the Right, the other towards the Left of the Galley, to discharge them upon the Crew if they should make the least Attempt to gain their Liberty. Besides this, out of an hundred Soldiers aboard a Galley, fifty are set apart to guard the Slaves; and have their Muskets constantly presented at them, to be ready to fire in Case of a Revolt: Yet, notwithstanding all these Precautions, the Officers are not a little embarrassed, and are always more afraid of the Slaves than the Enemy; for if they should make the least Attempt, it would be absolutely necessary to come to Extremities, that is to say, to kill half or the greatest Part of them; which Remedy is worse than the Evil; for the Slaves being the chief Support of the Galley, its Ruin would follow inevitably. These are the Observations that has fallen in my Way to make upon the Gallies in general, with regard to their Strength and their Weakness in Opposition to Men of War, which have not half the Difficulties to struggle with in attacking the Gallies that these

these last have in attacking them. From all that has been said it is natural to conclude, that the Expences requisite for the Support of the Gallies is very considerable, and their Utility very small. *France* has been sufficiently sensible of this, as appears by the Reduction she has made of three Parts in four of her Gallies; which Reduction was made during the Regency and the Minority of *Lewis* the 15th, who now fills the Throne with so much Glory.

AFTER having concluded these Memoirs, I perceived that I had forgot to take Notice in the proper Place of the Sequel of the History of the Engagement and taking of the *English* Frigate, the *Nightingale*, and the End of Captain *Smith*, of infamous Memory. He received shortly after the just Reward of his Treachery, by the Event which I am going to relate. It has been observed above, that *ANNE* Queen of *England* had entrusted, in the Year 1708, the Command of a Ship, which was to guard the Coasts, to Captain *Smith*, a good Soldier and an able Seaman, but a conceal'd Papist, and who nourish'd in his Heart an implacable Hatred to his Country, as
appeared

appeared soon after: For having, as I said before, sold his Ship at *Gottenburgh* in *Sweden*, and dismissed the Crew, he offered his Services to the King of *France* against *England* his native Country. I moreover observed, that this Monarch received and promised to give him the first vacant Place of Captain of a Ship of War, and desired him to serve on board the Chevalier *de Langeron's* Galley at *Dunkirk*, till a Vacancy should happen.

No Man ever shewed such an Animosity against the *English*, as this Traitor took every Opportunity of testifying. Whenever any Privateer of *Dunkirk* took a Prize from the *English*, which frequently happened, this inveterate Enemy of his Country never failed to go to the Prisons where the Crews of those Vessels were confined; he reviled them in the most opprobrious Manner; and his Indignation would, if not prevented, have carried him to greater Excesses. He gave Money to the Jailor and the Soldiers who guarded these unhappy Men, in order to prevent them from receiving the Benefactions of the well-disposed. And if the five Protestants (amongst whom

whom I was one) who were with him on board the Chevalier *de Langeron's* Galley, had not been befriended by the Chevalier, he would have had us whipt every Day, because we were of the same Religion with the *English*, whom he held in utter Detestation. This Villain had conceived such an Aversion for his Country, that he was constantly forming Projects against it; and as he had a perfect Knowledge of all the Coasts, and was a Man of Capacity and Experience in War, his Designs were acceptable to the *French*, who, notwithstanding, hated his Character. At last he formed the Project of pillaging and burning the little Town of *Harwich*, upon the Banks of the *Thames*, which he communicated to the *French* Ministry, by whom it was approved, as I have already observed; but it was also unsuccessful (as has been seen) by the Engagement which we had at the Mouth of that River.

BEING returned from that Expedition to the Port of *Dunkirk*, he was very urgent with us to go upon the same Expedition again with the six Gallies. But our Captain would not give Ear to his Proposal; alledging, besides the
Unfitness

Unfitness of the Season, that the Galleys had been disabled by the last Engagement, not only by the Havock which had been made of their Crews, a great Part of which had been killed or wounded, but also by the Loss of their Masts and Rigging, which were not easily to be supplied at that Time. All these Considerations were not sufficient to keep Capt. *Smith* from censuring the Indolence of the Commodore, and the Officers of the Galleys. He complained of it in his Letters to the Ministry. Our Captain sent an Account of his Proceedings, in which he alledged the abovementioned Causes, which made it impossible for him to attempt any Thing. All this drew the Jealousy, or rather the Hatred of our Officers upon *Smith*, and caused his Destruction, as I am going to relate. Capt. *Smith* not being discouraged with the Refusal of the six Galleys, formed another Project, and desired to have two Men of War given him, which should obey his Orders in every Thing. These were ready fitted out in the Harbour of *Dunkirk*; one of forty Guns, and the other a small Frigate *English* built, of four and twenty. He undertook to burn *Harwich* with those

those two Ships, as well as he could, have done with the six Gallies. The Court accepted his Proposal, and gave Orders for its immediate Execution; but left him only the Direction of the Enterprize, and not the Command of the Vessels. A Captain of a Galley went aboard the largest as Admiral, and a Lieutenant aboard the Frigate as Captain; and *Smith* as Commander in chief, and Director of the Enterprize. The two Men of War set sail in the Month of *October* 1708, and steered their Course towards their *Thames*. But no sooner were they within Sight of *England*, but they perceived an *English* Man of War of seventy Guns, which was stationed there to guard the Coast. This perplexed them not a little; and the Admiral having consulted with Capt. *Smith*, it was resolved to go on a short Cruize towards the North, that the *English* Men of War might not penetrate into their Design, and to return when it was gone, which was done accordingly. Being returned, however, three or four Days after, they perceived the same Man of War, or another nearly of the same Force. Upon this new Perplexity, they again held a Council of War.

Smith

Smith maintained that their two Ships being of considerable Force, they were in a Condition to board and take the *Englishman*. The Admiral and the Captain of the Frigate were of a different Opinion; but *Smith* was so bent upon running all Risques, that he brought the rest over to his Sentiments. It was stipulated, however, that he should go aboard the Frigate, which was a light Ship, in order to reconnoitre the *Englishman*; and that after having well examined its Strength and its Weakness, he should give the Admiral a Signal to join him, and attempt the Enterprize; but that he should not go too near the Man of War, nor attempt to board it, for fear of being sunk. In Pursuance of this Resolution, the Admiral kept aloof; and *Smith* went full Sall to reconnoitre the Enemy, who despising so mean a Prize as the little Frigate, let it pass without stirring from their Post. *Smith*, contrary to the Advice of the Officers of his Frigate, approached so near to the Man of War, that he received a furious broad Side. This took away all the Masts of the Frigate, and made it impossible for it to avoid being either taken or sunk. The

Admiral seeing the Misfortune of his Companion, was so far from going to his Assistance as he had promised, in Case of Accident, that he had made all Haste back to *Dunkirk*, whither he had carried the News of *Smith's* ill Success. No sooner did the *Englishman* perceive the Enemy's Ship without Masts, and out of a Condition to make its Escape, but he called out to *Smith* to strike, otherwise he would sink his Vessel. *Smith* would by no Means obey the Summons, chusing rather to perish than die by the Hands of the Executioner in his own Country. But he was not able to induce the Ship's Crew to concur in his Sentiments. The Soldiers and Sailors threatened to throw him overboard if he would not surrender. He was therefore obliged to comply, but still thought of one Expedient more to save him from the Hands of the Executioner. He took a lighted Match which he concealed in his Sleeve, and was going to apply it to the Powder kept below, in order to blow up the Frigate. The Centinel of the Powder-Room perceiving his Design, stopped him, at the same Time crying out to his Companions, that *Smith* was going to blow up the Ship: Upon

this he was arrested by a Part of the Crew, who bound him to the Main-mast, and then struck to the Man of War. The *English* sent their Boats well armed, and commanded by an experienced Officer to take Possession of the Prize. Having boarded without the least Opposition, the first Object that presented was *Smith*, bound Hand and Foot to the Mast. He was instantly known, and conducted aboard the Man of War, who fired all their Guns in Token of Joy, at securing for public Justice this Traitor to his Country. He was immediately conducted to *London*, and convicted of the Crime laid to his Charge: And though he meanly offered to turn Protestant, provided he received his Pardon, he was sentenced to be hanged and quartered, which is the Manner of executing Traitors in *England*, which was executed accordingly. And when I was at *London* in 1713, I saw his Quarters exposed on Gibbets along the Banks of the *Thames*. A striking Lesson to those who solicit Trusts only to betray them!



*An exact and authentic LIST of the
PROTESTANTS who are now actu-
ally Slaves aboard the French Gallies
upon Account of their Religion, taken
in the Year 1755.*

No. 543. *James Martin de Ribaute, of the Ce-
vennes, condemned for Life by Mr.
de Bernage the 8th of May, 1728,
for bringing from Geneva an hundred
Books in Vindication of the reformed
Religion, aged 58 Years.*

943. *James Pujet de Sauret, of the Ceve-
nees, condemned for Life by Mr.
Bernage the 27th of March, for har-
bouring Mr. Claris, Minister of the
Gospel, aged 80 Years.*

1010. *Matthew Allard, condemned for Life
by the Parliament of Grenoble, the
16th of February, 1735, for having
been*

been at a Minister's School, aged 38 Years.

No. 1141. *James Clergues*, of *Pierre Gourde* in *Vivaraïs*, condemned for Life by Mr. *Bernage* the 1st of *March*, 1737, for being at an Assembly of the Church, aged 81 Years.

1417. *John Peter Espinas* of *St. Felix*, in *Vivaraïs*, condemned for Life by Mr. *Bernage* the 9th of *February*, 1740, for harbouring Mr. *Fauriel*, Minister, aged 45 Years.

1418. *Mathew Morell*, of *St. André*, in *Vivaraïs*, condemned for Life by Mr. *de Bernage* the 8th of *February*, 1740, for having followed his Uncle, Mr. *Morel*, Minister, aged 29 Years.

1784. *Alexander Chambon*, of *Pranles* in *Vivaraïs*, condemned for Life by Mr. *de Bernage* the 31st of *July*, 1741,

for going to the Assembly of the Church, aged 61.

No. 2228. *Peter Sabatier* of *Maxamet*, condemned for Life by Mr. *le Nain*, Intendant of *Languedoc*, the 6th of April, 1745, for assembling, aged 40 Years.

2229. *John Molinier*, of *Aupoul*, aged 30 Years.

2230. *Alexis Corbiere*, of *Sarnarie*, aged 46 Years.

These two condemned at the same Time, and for the same Cause with *Peter Sabatier*.

2340. *Anthony Riaille*, of *Osse*, condemned for Life by the Parliament of *Grenoble* the 26th of February, 1745, for being of the reformed Religion, aged 51 Years.

2472. *Paul Achard*, of *Chatillon*, condemned for Life by the Parliament of

a PROTESTANT. 247

of *Grenoble* the 9th of *February*, for
harbouring a Minister, aged 38
Years.

No. 2552. *John Menut*, of *Mazel* in *Vivarais*,
condemned for Life by Mr. *le Nain*
the 1st of *February*, 1746, for har-
bouring Mr. *Majal*, a Minister, aged
46 Years.

3450. *Paul Garry*, of *Bellegarde*, aged 33
Years.

3451. *Raymond Gaillard*, of *Laujac*, aged
51 Years.

3453. *James Caussade*, of *Laujac*, aged 37
Years.

3454. *John Moussie*, of *Fau*, aged 29 Years.

These four condemned for Life by
the Intendant of *Montauban*, the 2d
of *February*, 1747.

4388. *John Peter Bouvilla*, of *Sabarat*, aged
36 Years.

No. 4389. *John De Font*, of *Mas*, aged 28 Years.

These two condemned for Life by the Intendant of *Perpignan*, the 22d of *July*, 1749, for Assembling.

4639. *Andrew Bernard*, of *Vendras*, aged 35 Years.

4640. *Henry Martel*, of *Fonds*, aged 33 Years.

4641. *Stephen Chapelier*, of *Saussine*, aged 31 Years.

These three condemned for Life by the Intendant of *Montpellier*, the 17th of *January*, 1750, for Religion.

5438. *John Garagnon*, of *Rosan*, condemned for Life by the Intendant of *Montpellier*, the 24th of *December*, for Assembling, aged 42 Years.

5439. *Lewis Negre*, of *Coulorgues*, aged 45 Years.

No. 5440.

a PROTESTANT. 249

No. 5440. *James Bouqueran*, of *Bourguier*, aged
55 Years.

5442. *Peter Raimbert*, of *Orillac*, aged 71
Years.

5463. *Paul Mathieu*, of *Nismes*, aged 71
Years.

5464. *Anthony Mortier*, of *Calviffon*, aged
76 Years.

These five condemned for Life by
the Intendant of *Montpellier*, the 24th
of *December*, 1750, for Assembling.

5581. *Claude Chaumont*, of *Geneva*, con-
demned for Life by the Intendant of
Montpellier, the 24th of *May*, 1751,
for Assembling, aged 37 Years.

6189. *John Say*, of *Lezan*, aged 49 Years.

6190. *Andrew Guirard*, of *Clarensac*, aged
59 Years.

6192. *Lewis Pregon*, of *Bernis*, aged 48
Years.

No. 6193.

No. 6193. *John Roque*, of *Beauvoisin*, aged 24 Years.

These five condemned for Life by the Intendant of *Montpellier*, the 17th of *March*, 1752, for Assembling.

6863. *Joseph Barnier*, of *Nions* in *Dauphiné*, condemned by the Parliament of *Grenoble* for five Years, the 17th of *June*, 1752, for Religion, aged 53 Years.

7996. *Antony Berenger*, of *Plan de Bais*, condemned for five Years by the Parliament of *Grenoble* for Religion, the 1st of *September*, 1753.

8594. *John Caldie*, of *Bedarieux*, aged 61 Years.

8595. *John Bonnesfoux*, of *Bedarieux*, aged 61 Years.

8596. *Stephen Galzi*, of *Pont*, aged 71 Years.

No. 8597.

a PROTESTANT. 251

No. 8597. *John Raimond*, of *Pont*, aged 45 Years.

These four condemned for Life by the Intendant of *Montpelier*, the 9th of *October*, 1754, for Assembling.

8601. *Andrew Barthes*, of *Fournials*, aged Years.

8602. *Philip Gaches*, of the same Place, aged 51 Years.

8603. *Daniel Bic*, or *Vic*, of *Montredon*, aged 61 Years.

These three condemned for Life by the Intendant of *Montpellier*, the 11th of *October*, 1754, for Assembling.

8604. *John Baptist la Chaume*, of *Realmont*, aged 26 Years.

8605. *John Barreau*, of *Realmont*, aged 35 Years.

8606. *John Albiges*, of *Realmont*, aged 51 Years.

No. 8607.

No. 8607 *William de Nautonnier*, of *Castel Franc*,
aged 62 Years.

These four condemned for Life by
the Intendant of *Montpellier*, the 28th
of *October*, 1754, for Assembling.

8608. *John Blanc*, of *Sauve*, aged 21 Years.

8609. *Henry Liron*, of *Sauve*, aged 22 Years.

These two condemned for Life by
the Intendant of *Montpellier*, the 31st
of *October*, 1754, for Assembling.

8629. *Peter Bechard*, of *Nimes*, condemned
for Life by the Intendant of *Mont-*
pellier, at the Commencement of
this Year, for Assembling.

F I N I S.

